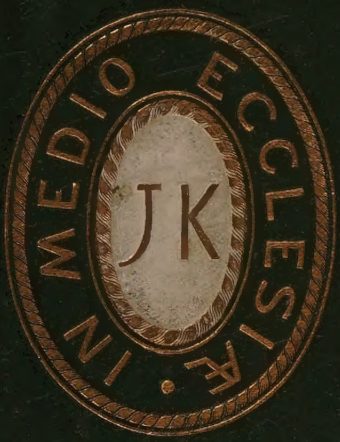
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OCCASIONAL PAPERS AND REVIEWS.

Hymns.

Thies, should thy soul misgiving turn / Back to th' enchanting air
Solace & warning thou mayst learn / From all that tempts thee there.
And oh, by all the pangs of fears / ~~that~~ ~~parental~~ ~~that~~ know — fraternal spirit,
When for ~~unfaithful~~ erring shame their tears / In wakeful anguish flow, who knows back
Speak gently of ~~upon us our elder sisters~~ In patience & in
our sin, ~~Speak gently of the Mothers fall~~ // ~~who knows but gentle~~ gentle love /
kin fall // ~~Fill us with thy own tenderness~~ ~~Arm us with thy~~
~~that we may tame her wild & proper challenges with~~ / ~~Their never-lay-down~~ ? Nov. 11. 1827.
/ May win her at our patient call / ~~& our never-ugly to prove~~ //

Published by Jas Parker & Co
Oxford & London.

OCCASIONAL PAPERS

AND

REVIEWS

BY

JOHN KEBLE, M.A.

"In medio Ecclesiæ aperuit os ejus, et implevit eum Dominus Spiritu sapientiæ et intellectus."

Oxford and London:
JAMES PARKER AND CO.
1877.

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1877.

PREFACE.

THE publication of these Reviews is the fulfilment of a wish expressed by the oldest friend of their Author, who has been taken to his rest while the sheets were passing through the press.

"I take the opportunity," Sir John Coleridge wrote, "which this mention of the 'British Critic' gives me, to express a strong desire, felt not by myself alone, but by many others, whose opinions are of more authority, to see published a collection of, or judicious selection from, Keble's contributions to Periodicals. Of these the most important will be found in the 'British Critic,' when it was issued quarterly: but I believe his earliest published writings were in the 'British Critic' when it was a monthly review, and under the direction of my friend, the Rev. Thomas Rennell, Vicar of Kensington; one of these, on Bishop Horsley[a], lives in my recollection, as specially characteristic of himself, such as he was to his latest day; but I do not possess it, nor can I refer to it. He contributed also, in 1825, a paper on Sacred Poetry at my request to the 'Quarterly Review,' which will be found in vol. xxxii. p. 211. This of course has a special value; but I may say generally, that when he wrote only occasionally and anonymously, he wrote as carefully and conscientiously as when he was more directly responsible; and I cannot but think the publication I desire would be very valuable, and very acceptable to the public[b]."

[a] There is a Review on Bp. Horsley in the first vol. for 1814 of the "British Critic." In Dec. 1875, Sir J. T. Coleridge was asked whether it was the Review which he mentions above; he replied, that on referring to his marked copy he found that it was by Bp. Middleton; another Review in the same vol., on Copleston's *Prælectiones*, being marked as Mr. Keble's.

[b] "Memoir of the Rev. John Keble," p. 365, note.

The same wish had been privately expressed by one whose name is most closely associated with Mr. Keble, —his pupil at Oriel College, afterwards his only patron; and to fulfil the desire of one so honoured, would alone be sufficient gratification.

Of the papers which compose this volume, two appeared in the "British Critic," one in the "Quarterly Review," one in the "British Magazine," and two in the "Christian Remembrancer;" four papers are from unpublished MSS., and two had formerly been printed in the form of tracts. The Essay on the Jewish Nation has been taken from Mr. Keble's Common-place Book, not the least interesting to those who knew him, amongst the materials kindly supplied by his nephew, the Rev. Thomas Keble.

It is a nearly square book, nine inches long, bound in green parchment. The earliest dated entry is at page 8, with the heading, "Parodies of things Sacred."

"Besides what is real and truely distressing in this way, I apprehend there is a good deal which is merely imaginative and fanciful. Now, to avoid needless vexation from this, (and perhaps it may answer other good purposes,) it seems a good rule always to consider; Whether the case does not admit of our regarding the common thing as hallowed, rather than the sacred one as profaned. Aug. 12, 1822."

The last entry is as follows:—

"1860, Aug. 12. Discontent with others almost always is from something wrong in ourselves. G. M.

"Strip off the coverings from worldly mirth, and it is despair at the core. Ibid."

This little extract is in his most unsteady writing, and the book could scarcely have been touched for a long space of years, since almost everything else is in the small and exquisitely-formed handwriting of his youth.

St Peter's Day. 1824. Acts xii. 6. / Thou thrice denied yet thrice beloved / Watch by Thine own forgiven friend / In sharpest perils faithful prov'd / Let his soul Love Thee to the end // The prayer is heard: else why so deep / His slumber on the eve of death? / And wherefore plays he in his sleep / As one who drew celestial breath? // He dreams he hears the Tyrant's oath / Fall to that last of glorious deeds / But as he rouses to

Yes, wheresoe'er one trace of thee is found,
As in the Sacred Land, the shadows fall:
With beating hearts we tread the haunted ground,
Lone battle-field, or crumbling prison-hall.

Published by Ja[s] Parker & C[o]
Oxford & London

The prose writing abruptly breaks off at page 55 [c], and the four first verses of the hymn for St. Peter's Day in the "Christian Year" are written, followed by that for "King Charles the Martyr," and "For the Fifth of November." They are evidently the originals of these poems, as frequent erasures prove. A facsimile has been taken from two of these pages [d], since there must be a deep interest in anything belonging to the history of so remarkable a book as the "Christian Year."

In the words of one who knew best what its influence had been,—"it was the most soothing, tranquillising, subduing, work of the day; if poems can be found to enliven in dejection, and to comfort in anxiety, to cool the over-sanguine, and to refresh the weary, to awe the worldly, to instil resignation into the impatient, and calmness into the fearful and agitated, they are these—

> "'Tale tuum carmen nobis, divine poeta,
> Quale sopor fessis in gramine; quale, per æstum
> Dulcis aquæ saliente sitim restinguere rivo.'"

Or like the Shepherd's pipe in the Oriental Vision,—"The sound was exceedingly sweet, and wrought into a variety of tunes that were inexpressibly melodious, and altogether different from anything I had ever heard. They put me in mind of those heavenly airs that are played to the departing souls of good men upon their first arrival in Paradise, to wear out the impression of the last agonies, and qualify them for the pleasures of that happy place. I drew near with that reverence which is due to a superior nature; and as my heart was entirely subdued by the captivating strains I had heard, I fell down at his feet and wept."

The youngest amongst us have never known the state of things, "of which this gifted Author was—not the

[c] The facsimile of p. 61 is given as a Frontispiece.

[d] The lines on "The World in the open air" are not by Mr. Keble, they are marked "Anon. from C. M. C. Nov. 12, 1827."

witness and denouncer, a deep spirit of reverence hindered it,—but the renovator, as far as it has been renovated. Clearly as he saw the degeneracy of his times, he attributed nothing of it to his Church, over which he threw the poetry of his own mind, and the memory of better days [e]."

> "He sang of love with quiet blending,
> Slow to begin and never ending,
> Of serious mirth and inward glee,"—

of primitive faith and devotion, of an order and obedience which scarce existed in England, save in his own inward vision; and even as he sang the ruined walls of his Sion rose in fresh strength and beauty—her stones laid with fair colours, and her foundations with sapphires.

It has been said by a distinguished living poet that there is no hymn in the "Christian Year" which, as a perfectly finished piece of poetry, is equal to one or two poems in the "Lyra Innocentium;" and if Mr. Keble ever spoke of his book, it was in alluding passingly to what he thought its faults. He told the writer, not long before his death, that Wordsworth had once proposed to him that they should go over it together, "with a view to correcting the English [f]." Yet he lived to see ninety-five editions of the book, and at the end of the year following his death, the number had risen to a hundred-and-nine [g].

[e] "Dublin Review," June, 1846.

[f] The following lines are written in an old pocket-book, Sept. 10, 1823:—

AT BARROW ELM.

> "O that my spirit were a choir, a place
> Where holy thoughts might meet to sing Thy grace!
> So once it was, or seemed awhile, but now
> 'Tis dull and tuneless all, I know not how;
> Faint cries, like little birds asleep in pain,
> Are now the most my music can attain."

[g] The following information has been kindly furnished by Messrs. Parker as to the number of editions and copies issued, from its first publication until the expiration of the copyright. There can be but few examples of the kind

Before its publication, MS. copies of the poems had been freely scattered about in the albums of his friends: "This shews," his nephew writes, "how little jealousy he felt for his own compositions. But the fact is, that almost all his most intimate friends were more or less of poets, and that they seem to have looked upon their verses as common property." The originals are often written on the back and edges of letters, in old account-books and pocket-books. These have all been kindly lent for examination by the Rev. Thomas Keble. There are amongst them several sets of MS. copies of the "Christian Year," evidently written before its publication had been thought of. One is written by his father, another by his sister Mary Anne, and there are seven little MS. books containing almost all the poems in the book fairly copied out by himself.

Six only of the poems in the "Christian Year," besides the fragment for St. Peter's Day, are written in the

in the history of books, and there is probably no other where the book in question is entirely composed of original religious poetry.

"Christian Year" Summary.

	Eds.	Total Copies.
From 1827 to end of 1837,	16,	26,500
,, 1838 ,, 1847,	14,	39,000
,, 1848 ,, 1857,	19,	63,000
,, 1858 ,, 1867,	60,	119,500
,, 1868 ,, April, 1873,	31,	57,500
Total	140	305,500

After this date, the expiration of copyright has brought very many editions into the market, so that the numbers cannot be ascertained. Between April, 1873, and December, 1875, Messrs. Parker issued at the reduced prices upwards of 70,000.

Of the 26,500,

The First edition was issued July 1827, 500 copies.

The Second edition (*circa* November) 1827, 750 copies.

The Third edition (*circa* March), 1828, 1,250 copies.

Of the 119,500,

From January, 1858, to April, 1866, 46 editions, 97,500.

,, May, 1866, to December, 1867, 14 editions, 22,000.

Common-place Book; after page 61, about a hundred pages of prose follow, containing most of the paper on the Jewish Nation. Page 154 has the heading, "Lyrics continued from p. 61;" and the four hymns, "On the Form of Prayer to be used at Sea," "For the 29th of May," "The Accession," and "Ordination," follow without any interruption. The last is dated "28 March, 1828." As these hymns were not in the first edition of the "Christian Year," they seem to have been written — unlike most of the poems in that book—purposely for publication.

After these hymns there is little original in the Common-place Book, with the exception of "Notes on Æschylus and Pindar," evidently written when the Author was Professor of Poetry at Oxford, in preparation for his "Prælectiones;" indeed, one set of notes has the heading, "Plan of Lecture XXIV." They are very interesting, but are written too much in the form of notes jotted down to assist his own memory, to allow of their being printed.

The task of collecting the materials for this volume has not been without difficulties, and in a very short time it would have been impossible, for every year lessens the number of those who possess certain knowledge concerning Mr. Keble's earlier writings. Nor could it now have been accomplished without aid from many, to whom thanks are due (amongst these chiefly to the Rev. James Skinner and Mr. James Parker) for most kind and ready help in searching for and verifying papers by Mr. Keble, which were all but forgotten.

But there is one "whom we loved and love," and to whom, more than to any one else, respectful thanks are due. Dr. Newman was at one time Editor of the "British Critic;" and some correspondence with him as to articles contributed by Mr. Keble to that Review ended in his writing the following letter. If it is impossible here to

offer him any gratitude worth his acceptance, it is a consolation to know how much he will be thanked by all who read his letter, — the most exquisite tribute that has been paid to the memory and to the genius of his friend.

"DEAR ——

"I WISH it were easier for me than it is to comply with the request you have made me to give you my judgment upon Mr. Keble's literary merits. Not that it would be any great effort to descant in a general way on his various endowments as an author, on his learning, his conscientiousness, his incessant and persevering industry, and the classical taste with which he writes; but praise of this kind, to which others besides him have a claim, would come very short of doing justice to him, or of satisfying you. Yet I should not succeed in the attempt to do more; and, in going on to tell you why, I shall be doing something towards suggesting how I should shape my criticism about him, if such criticism were in my power.

"My difficulty lies first in the circumstance that, various as are his works, for one reason or other, they present, amid that variety, so little direct matter for criticism. The volume which has made him so specially famous, is of that rare kind, which scarcely comes under the idea of literature; and such, too, is its sequel, the *Lyra Innocentium*. His translation of the Psalms, highly valued as it is by Hebrew scholars, belongs to a department of literary labour too closely connected with grammatical science to be easily included under the term 'literature.' His greatest literary work, his 'Lectures on Poetry,' so full of acute remark and so beautiful in language, is in Latin. Then, as to his occasional compositions, in prose and verse, though they are both valuable as his and worthy of him, still they neither created his high reputation, nor can be

taken as the measure of it. Lastly, of his edition of Hooker I will say this,—that the learning and research, the pains and the achievements of an editor are emphatically underground and out of sight; and if there was a man who, from reverence towards his author, as well as from an innate modesty and an habitual disregard of self, would put his author in the front and would hide behind him, it was Mr. Keble.

"How can I profess to paint a man who will not sit for his picture? how can I draw out his literary merits, when he considers it his special office to edit, or to translate, or to discourse in a dead language, or to sing hymns?

"It was no accident that he is thus difficult to bring under the jurisdiction of the critic. He had as little aim at literary success in what he wrote, as most authors have a thirst for attaining it. He was ever jealous of the prospect or desire of it, whether as regards himself or those in whom he took an interest. I recollect his borrowing a friend's sermon, which had been preached before the University, and, I suppose, had been well spoken of to him. When he returned it, he whispered into his friend's ear, 'Don't be original.' He practised himself the restraint which he recommended to others. On one occasion he preached a sermon in the University pulpit which made a great impression. Hurrell Froude and I left St. Mary's so touched by it, that we did not speak a word to each other all the way down to Oriel. He found out what we thought of it, and doubtless heard it praised in other quarters. His next sermon was a great disappointment to his hearers; it was without unity,

point, or effectiveness. Something occurred, I forget what, to explain to us how this came about. It arose from his vigilance over himself, and his scrupulousness lest in his former sermon he had so handled a sacred subject as to lead his audience to think rather of him than of it.

"To me, indeed, in proportion as I came to know him well, nothing he wrote could really be a failure; and here is a second reason why I am so little qualified to take upon me the task of criticizing him. His own familiar apophthegm, which he used when a preacher was the subject of conversation, 'All sermons are good,' I learned to apply to his own compositions, whether on religious subjects or not. They all spoke of Keble. And still I am unable to separate the writer from the man, or to view him as poet, critic, scholar, reviewer, editor, or divine, except as those aspects of him are gathered up in one in his own proper personality. I have too often heard him lecture, preach, and converse, not to have gained a habit of associating his matter and his diction with his living and breathing delivery. I have in my ears still the modulations and cadences of his voice, his pauses and emphatic points; I recollect what music there was in the simple earnestness and sweet gravity with which he spoke; the way he held his paper, his gesture, his look, are all before me. I cannot judge even of his style impartially; phrases and collocations of words, which others would call imperfections in his composition, are to me harmonized by the remembrance how he uttered them.

"And here I am brought to one reason more, why I feel myself unfitted to pass a literary judg-

ment on Mr. Keble :—it is because I have not the skill to discriminate what is of intellectual origin in his writings from what is of ethical. There are writers who have nothing to recommend them but their talent, and who never would be mistaken for men of high moral intuitions; and there are others whom we love for their religious qualities, and whom no excess of partiality on our part could ever make us call clever or able. In such cases criticism is very easy; but, in proportion as the standard, whether intellectual or ethical, rises, so are these distinct mental provinces confused together by the ordinary observer, and what belongs to the one is hastily ascribed to the other. Thus, at the present day especially, the calm of a philosophical mind looks like Christian peace, and a poet or novelist is able, from his dramatic powers, to compose hymns, or draw characters, or depict scenes, which are altogether foreign to his own nature. On the other hand, what sounds like sharp satire or witty irony, or again deep thoughts tersely expressed, or original views, or beautiful images, may proceed from the lips of children and the uneducated, out of their very ignorance and simplicity, out of their mental independence and habit of reflection; as we are reminded in the well-known tale in the interview of the Scottish dairymaid with Queen Caroline. Or, to take an illustration of the highest and most sacred kind, as inspiration, a gift for moral and theological purposes, has, by an indirect effect, made the writers of Scripture poets and philosophers.

"As to Mr. Keble, all I venture to say of him in this respect is this :—that his keen religious in-

stincts, his unworldly spirit, his delicacy of mind, his tenderness of others, his playfulness, his loyalty to the Holy Fathers, and his Toryism in politics, are all ethical qualities, and by their prominence give a character of their own, or (as I have called it) personality, to what he has written; but these would not have succeeded in developing that personality into sight and shape in the medium of literature, had he not been possessed of special intellectual gifts, which they both elicited and used.

"Please do not hesitate for a moment in sending this back to me, supposing you consider (as I shall not be surprised to find) that it does not answer as a substitute for that service to Mr. Keble's memory, which you did me the kindness and honour to ask of me, and which I have been obliged to decline.

"I am, dear ——,

"Sincerely yours,

"JOHN H. NEWMAN."

"*October* 29, 1875.

POSTSCRIPT.

WITH regret I was obliged to forego what, with my deep love and reverence for John Keble, must have been a sad satisfaction,—any attempt either to superintend the collection of these scattered pieces, or to write a discriminating introduction to them. For this I felt myself unfit. They are too varied in character. To comment upon them would have required too large a range of thought and discussion, and after all, it would rather have interfered with the freshness, with which all John Keble's thoughts

gushed from him. Instead of aiding to "gather up the fragments which remain, that nothing be lost," I have only to attest the unwearied diligence which has been used to bring together these fragments.

The description of John Keble's biographer, which originated this collection, certainly led me to think that he had in his mind a larger number of these pieces. But whatever be the reason, neither the kind and accurate examination which Lord Coleridge made of his father's memoranda, nor the memories of early friends, have discovered anything more. And so we come back to the thought, which is so pressed upon us, in all God's works of nature or grace, seeming,—(when there is not, as in this case there is not, real) waste. The intensest beauties in God's natural works are what are seen by the fewest human eyes. Some, as in mountain scenery,

> "Where the landscape in its glory
> Teaches truth to wandering men,"

are seen after much toil in coming near them; for the beauties of God's works are seen the more, the nearer you come to them. Some, as passing effects of light, enriching all on which they fall with some glow of heaven, transfix soul and body; but each is seen for once in a life, and probably that exact sight is perceived by the individual, or some few only. When seen, they suggest some thoughts, perhaps life-long thoughts, to the appreciative, but are inadequately appreciated even by them. The writer of the "Elegy in a Country Churchyard," suggests that the hidden but richest beauties of nature are but types of the latent powers or beauties of soul, undeveloped in this earth. John Keble wrote mournfully of the waste of "the hues of the rich unfolding morn," wasting "their treasures of delight" "upon our thankless, joyless sight." On us their "treasures of delight" seem wasted, either because so few can or do see them, or we who see them are so thankless, or any thankfulness is so short-lived. Yet of such gifts one cannot but think that God, day by day, creates these and all other natural beauties for other

eyes than those of man. Here, too, "the morning stars" may "sing together," and "the sons of God" may doubtless "shout for joy," as they did at the creation of this our world[h].

Waste of grace is an awful, terrific mystery, the explanation of which is reserved to the day when "God shall judge the secrets of men's hearts." But intellect seems more within our province. Yet how inscrutable it is, that so much of fairest promise should be cut off, as it seems to us, untimely; some, actually in the bud; some, when developing in moral beauty also. Each period of life carries off some, whose energies had only had a small portion of their apparent scope. Some, whom we see most highly gifted, pass away before they have produced anything which should last. Of those who live longest here, not one mind completes a fraction of what it once conceived. In each decennium of life, some portion of what the mind once promised itself drops off. God seems to have delegated to us, as a shadowy likeness of Himself, that as He, by reason of His Omniscience and Omnipotence, has in His Infinite Mind the inexhaustible treasure of things which He might create, but has not yet created, or ever will create,—so to us, formed in His likeness, He has given the conception of things which we might bring into being, but do not. Only we *do* not, because in our weakness we *can* not. As time goes on, we resign, one by one, the conceptions of our earlier years. We see them as visions of what might have been, but, in God's Providence, were not to be. The limits of our mortality hem them in one by one. We are allowed to conceive them, but have no strength to bring them into being. Perhaps He wills thereby to keep in us the habitual thought, that our full developement is not here, but in eternity.

In the case of John Keble, we have this, over and above, that he lived beyond the "threescore years and ten" of man's mortality, yet that, which struck so deep a note, and vibrated beyond the Church, through which, by the grace of God, he became what he was, first sounded before he

[h] Job xxxviii. 7.

had reached middle age. Through the rest of his thinking life, his most original and creative mind was mainly employed in setting off, or bringing out, the thoughts of others. His labours in illustrating the thoughts of Hooker had been assigned to him, before we, who were younger, had any right, or even insight, to question the choice.

Yet he was but forty-four when it was published. Then followed that great, but half-completed plan, of making the theology, and practical teaching, and thoughts, and exposition of Holy Scripture in the Fathers familiar to the English mind. In this he took especial interest, and loved to polish up translations by his friends, to which he imparted a beauty of his own, over and above any intrinsic merits of the translation itself. He wrote of the revisal as "hardish work[i]." We see, in his characteristic way of writing, that he employed himself on perfecting the indices too. "The indices, too, are *almost entirely* the result of Mr. Medley's [the present Bishop of Fredericton] valuable assistance[j]." As we had not then the collations, by which Mr. Field perfected the text of St. Chrysostom on St. Paul's Epistles, he had also to correct the Benedictine text "*in many places* by that of Savile[k]." Yet when he had completed the revision of five volumes[l], I could not but fear that owing to the great and minute pains which he employed upon it, it would deprive us of thoughts which God would give to himself, and ventured to press upon him to leave it to C. Marriott and myself. Rather, I believe that I had, as one of the editors, to prevent any more translations from coming to him. Yet he persevered in the same indomitable, but, in his humility, unconscious self-abnegation. I do not remember when his own contribution to the Library of the Fathers, the translation of St. Irenæus, was finished, which was published after we lost him. But in 1847 he was immersed in that laborious collection of the works of one whom

[i] Letter in Coleridge's "Life of John Keble," ed. 2, p. 264.

[j] Pref. to St. Chrys. Homilies on 1 Cor., p. xiii. [k] Ibid., p. xii.

[l] St. Chrys. on St. Matthew, three volumes; on 1 Corinthians, 2 volumes. The latter only have his initials.

he deservedly reverenced, a star pure and high upon the Church's sky,—

> " Relic of a spring-time clear,
> Earnest of a bright new year,—

Bp. Wilson[m], the witness to truth and holiness from his lonely isle, while chillness was benumbing his Mother Church.

The employment seems to have spread over sixteen years. It was in vain that I importuned him to write somewhat of his own, a Commentary on St. John's Gospel. I always heard that "Bp. Wilson was not finished." The time spent upon it, earned him from his friend and biographer the playful title " Thou of loiterers most loitering[n]." Yet the "loitering" was but his anxiety to do what justice he could to one whom he admired and loved, and to do what he could for one whose memory was a passion of his heart. When found looking over book-cases, he said, " I always look at books to see if I can find anything about Bp. Wilson[o]." And in reference to his work he wrote to his friend[p], " Your calling —— a middle-rate biographer, makes a certain friend of yours wince; you can easily guess why." Yet pious and self-forgetful as the work was, and chosen or accepted the more, because it was self-forgetful, it deprived us of what we might have received from God through him. For in all those years we seem to have scarcely any prose writing from himself, except in the brief essays, when he had to defend the truth or his friend[q] from the miserable mistakes of those who did

[m] The first volume of Bp. Wilson's "Sermons" in the Anglo-Catholic Library, edited by him, appeared in 1847; the " Life of Bp. Wilson," which completed the collection, did not appear till 1863.

[n] "ὦ μελλήτων μελλητικώτατε, Where is thy Wilson?" Letter of Sir J. T. Coleridge, " Life of John Keble," p. 453.

[o] Anecdotes of him when in Edinburgh, A.D. 1860, " Life," p. 458.

[p] Ibid., p. 476.

[q] As in the un-English injustice to J. H. Newman, which produced J. K.'s " Catholic Subscription of the XXXIX. Articles Considered in Reference to Tract xc.," or the more direct censure of the truth, the result of the Charge of Bp. Forbes, which produced his Essay on " Eucharistical Adoration," and

not appreciate or understand the work of God, to which in his "Christian Year" he himself sounded the first trumpet-call.

It was not, then, until past the "threescore years and ten" that, with diffidence, he began what I had ventured to press upon him many years before, a Commentary on St. John's Gospel. He seems to have undertaken it in order to do something towards the fulfilment of a long-cherished hope[r], yet knowing that he could never finish it. It was much in his thoughts; but his MS. ends in an unfinished sentence on the fifteenth verse. But this single pearl gives a thought what the golden string might have been, could he have brought himself to undertake it earlier.

And yet, perhaps all the more because he thus hid himself, he lived. Through some, God works for a man's own time; the burning or thoughtful words which He gives to others, shine and glow for all times. John Keble He moulded the more, because he was withdrawn from sight; worked on his generation, unconscious that he was working upon it, through the works of others, and lived. So, through the work of others whom God has formed or shall form through him, and that one jewel chiefly which He gave us through him, he will work on, I trust, through many generations. In each,—his "Christian Year," his Sermons[s], his occasional and scattered works,—he speaks

"Considerations suggested by a late Pastoral;" beside his contributions to our joint Defence of the Bishop, which, in the brief time allowed him, one mind could not complete.

[r] Letter in Coleridge's "Life of John Keble," p. 493.

[s] The six volumes of his Parochial Sermons, from Advent to Trinity Sunday, speak the more to the soul, because, unadorned as they are, it is himself, who is speaking in them from his own soul, and that (as in the "Christian Year,") as he could scarcely have spoken, had he thought, that he was revealing anything of his own mind. They need to be studied carefully, in order to be really appreciated. More have been prepared for publication, if it shall appear, that what has been already given, is appreciated as it ought.

It is interesting to contrast the way in which his friend and biographer speaks of them, and his own. His biographer says of his sermons, "He undervalued his compositions. It was unpleasant to him to undertake a selection and a revieswal of them for publication.—In delivery he did not give

the more, because, unconscious and busied only in what God gave him to do, it is himself who speaks. So while we work for God, God would teach us that the value of anything which any one does depends upon what God worketh in him, and he, by God's grace, becomes and is!

E. B. PUSEY.

his sermons the advantage of an ordinarily eloquent preacher, but he was eminently winning: he let himself down, I do not mean in language or argument, but in simplicity and childlike humility, to the most uneducated of his audience; he seemed always to count himself one of the sinners, one of the penitents, one even of the impenitents and careless, whom he was addressing; and the very quietness, the almost tearful monotony of his delivery became extremely moving, when you recollected how learned, how able, how moved in his own heart, and how earnest was the preacher." ("Life of John Keble," p. 454, ed. 2). He himself, like St. François de Sales, was ever glad to preach to the fewest, (as it is related that St. François once preached to four people, of whom one was converted). "It was observed of him repeatedly in later life, how he liked to preach when from home and he had the choice, in a small country church to the simplest congregation, rather than to a large number in a church of more display." (Ib., p. 370). He himself says of them, "somehow or other my sermons seem more and more disagreeable on a second preaching." (Letter, Ib.) And of his University sermons, "I have not been able to satisfy myself about the sermons which are to make up the volume. One after another, upon which I once plumed myself, seems such stuff, when I come to look over it." (Letter, pp. 341, 342).

Yet to obviate the ordinary objection to posthumous publications, I would add that while yet among us, he allowed me to select sermons for publication out of the whole range of his sermons, but that, amid the continual pressure of duties and troubles, I could not make the selection.

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LIFE OF SIR WALTER SCOTT[a].

SOME one has observed, how sad and unsatisfactory, generally speaking, are the recorded lives of great poets. But it may be doubted whether the observation be fairly drawn from a view of the very highest specimens of the art. The great examples of misery in that kind have commonly been in literary rank about the level of Chatterton or Savage. And Mr. Wordsworth avowedly meant it for a representation of an untrue notion, indicating a fanciful as well as an unhealthy mood of mind, when he averred that

> "We poets in our youth begin in gladness,
> But thereof comes in the end despondency and madness."

But though it be not at all necessary that the career of a first-rate poet should be full of discomfort, it might perhaps be true to say that it has almost always proved very full of mystery. Which of our lives, indeed, is not so? since it is a secret expressly reserved: "Thou, Thou alone knowest the hearts of the children of men." Positively as we all speak of one another, we all know by our own experience how impossible it would be for any one to trace the actual springs of our own conduct, the circumstances which truly and really made us what we are, without information which ourselves only can give. We know how large a portion we have forgotten of our own outward behaviour, much more of our wishes and emotions; nay, how little we knew of them at the time, even on those occasions which were the turning-points of our life. We know all this, and yet we go on coolly discussing and analyzing the living and the dead, as if we had them subjected to some unfailing chemical apparatus.

One of the great merits of the interesting life before

[a] "Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart." 7 vols. Murray and Whittaker, London: Cadell, Edinburgh. 1838.

us is the biographer's strong impression on this delicate point:—

"I regard," says he, "with small respect, any attempt to delineate fully and exactly any human being's character. I distrust, even in very humble cases, our capacity for judging our neighbour fairly; and I cannot but pity the presumption that must swell in the heart and brain of any ordinary brother of the race, when he dares to pronounce, *ex cathedra*, on the whole structure and complexion of a great mind, from the comparatively narrow and scanty materials which can by possibility have been placed before him."

Now if this remark hold in respect of the statesman and general, and those whose proceedings would seem to stand out in full light, much more concerning the poet, whose character as such begins and ends, for the most part, within his own bosom.

"The difficulty, to my view," Mr. Lockhart proceeds, "is not lessened,—perhaps it is rather increased,—when the great man is also a great artist. It is true that many of the feelings common to our nature can only be expressed adequately, and that some of the finest of them can only be expressed at all in the language of art, and more especially in the language of poetry. But it is equally true, that high and sane art never attempts to express that for which the artist does not claim and expect general sympathy;" (is not this rather too broadly stated?) "and however much of what we had thought to be our own secrets he ventures to give shape to, it becomes, I can never help believing, modest understandings to rest convinced that there remained a world of deeper mysteries, to which the dignity of genius would refuse any utterance[b]."

The biography, therefore, of a poet worthy of the name, even his unconscious auto-biography (which latter description would seem to apply most properly to the greater part of the present publication), may be an instructive and curious, but must ever be an imperfect lesson. And this, over and above any difficulty in obtaining materials, and ascertaining the positive facts of a life not commonly spent before the public.

[b] Vol. iii. pp. 397, 398.

Whatever be the cause, the effect appears undeniable; that we shall generally look in vain for satisfactory lives of the poets of the highest order; such lives as may furnish a real account, not merely an ingenious conjectural solution, of the chief facts in their history—their works.

Of Homer, e.g. who can affirm any thing positive beyond the simple matters in the fragment preserved by Thucydides: that he was blind, that he resided in Chios, that he exercised the profession of ἀοιδος, and in that character went occasionally (among other places) to Delos? Of Æschylus we can hardly be said to know more facts, but those which are preserved to us are more important: they are the critical points of his life; that he served actively as a soldier, that he fought at Salamis; that he invented additions of no small moment to the mechanical and scenical part of tragedy; that finding himself eclipsed by Sophocles, he retired, in his old age, from Athens to Sicily; lastly, and perhaps one may say chiefly (with regard to his cast of poetry), that he was a disciple of the Pythagorean school. The histories of Pindar, Lucretius, Virgil, Spenser, Shakespeare, so much of them as is certainly known, might be related in as few and as brief sentences as these. For the rest, we are left to make out from their works what their tastes and pursuits were; an investigation sure to be tinged more or less with the peculiar views of the person carrying it on, and to be warped, more or less unconsciously, in support of any theory of poetry in general, or of *their* poetry in particular, which he may happen to entertain.

It is obvious how greatly this deficiency of evidence regarding the chief masters of an art must embrace the difficulty of coming to right conclusions concerning the nature and essence of the art itself. It is as if a chemist had lost the record of the experiments on which he had been prepared to ground some great discovery; or as if a financier had mislaid the document containing his figures. Till such loss be replaced, there may be plenty of ingenious conjecture, but no data to be thoroughly depended on.

So far as poetry is a development of certain qualities in the human mind and heart, and not merely a work of art or a branch of literature; so far, it may be truly said, that all our speculations concerning it are stopped *in limine*, if we are denied the knowledge of the history and education of the minds from whom it proceeded.

So much the more are we indebted to the volumes before us, for the ample and complete picture which they exhibit of the education of one great poet at least. For in that character, surely, as his leading one, posterity will always consider Sir Walter Scott. His romances in prose are essentially poems, whatever test we take of poetry, except that ordinary one of metre; indeed it would not, perhaps, be easy to find a completer proof of metrical composition being but an accident of the art, than any one may make out for himself, by recollecting what he felt on first reading the "Lady of the Lake," and how little the impression differed from that left by the "Talisman," or "Guy Mannering." The kind of interest, the objects of sympathy, are surely the same in both cases: the difference of prose and verse is felt to be but technical; it is the same or similar music performed on different instruments. Thus it may be fairly said that his poetical remains amount to at least sixty volumes, a fertility unsurpassed even by what we read of Lopez de Vega; a mass of composition which, taken along with the very minute detail of his life preserved in these volumes, supplies, perhaps, the completest set of materials for speculation on the poetical character, which the world has yet inherited from the stores of any one writer.

This is the particular point of view in which it is now proposed to consider this very full and interesting memoir of one of the most interesting of those whom mankind have agreed to admire; a memoir which altogether does the greatest credit to the compiler, in respect both of good and manly feeling exercised on a great variety of very trying and delicate subjects, and also of skill and good taste as a biographer, such as we believe to have been rarely exceeded; the rule observed throughout being that

which of old was so highly praised in Homer, to permit the subject of the memoir to speak as much as possible for himself. To be sure, there was a great facility in doing so in this instance, beyond what most other writers of personal history have enjoyed; Sir Walter having been all his life a most fluent and punctual correspondent, and pouring himself out in his familiar letters in that kind of mixed tone, between sport and seriousness, between private and general topics, which at the same time by its engaging qualities ensures the preservation of letters, and by-and-by with least impropriety admits of publication, and best rewards it. And to complete the interest of the collection, it so happens that we have his own account of himself, in his own words, for just those two periods of his life, in regard of which we should most wish for such a document; we have his recollections of his childhood, and his diary when in declining health, and in the very severest of his trials. Thus we have his own confessions, so to speak, exactly where it was least possible for others to speak for him. And if there be any special relation between a man's general character and his character as a poet, undoubtedly such a life as this, so abundantly yet so undesignedly disclosed, and combined with such a store of original writings, cannot but offer large scope for ascertaining and exemplifying such relation.

To a question of this kind, then, it is proposed principally to direct attention in the following remarks. We shall try, by comparing this memoir of Sir Walter Scott with his poetical remains, to solve the main phenomena of the latter; not without a certain misgiving of mind, as if there were more or less impropriety in submitting to any thing like critical analysis the memory of so noble a character and so great a writer. One is painfully reminded as one writes, of the well-known complaint,—

> "Our meddling intellect
> Mis-shapes the beauteous forms of things—
> We murder, to dissect."

One feels that the proper application after all of the

record of such a life as this, is to something still higher than poetry or poetical criticism. Nevertheless the attempt must be made, with an endeavour to preserve throughout the respectful tone which becomes men speaking of their superiors over their graves newly closed ; and not without hope that it may issue in something conducive to those higher interests, to which all poetry and all literature, to be worth cultivating at all, must eventually do suit and service.

The idea, then, of poetry in the abstract, which it is conceived admits of especial illustration and support from the comparison of the works of Sir Walter Scott with his life, is something like what follows. *Poetry is the indirect expression in words, most appropriately in metrical words, of some overpowering emotion, or ruling taste, or feeling, the direct indulgence whereof is somehow repressed.* This notion, to bring it fully out, would require more explanation and development than the limits of the present paper will allow. It is proposed in this formal and positive shape, as a definition, for perspicuity's sake, not from any clear conviction that it is a sufficient account; but it is believed to be true as far as it goes, and to be worth proposing by way of conjecture, were it only for the chance of affording a clue to more fortunate or more sagacious inquiries. With this preface we proceed to offer a few considerations in support of this idea of Poetry.

And first of all, that there is *some* central idea of it, towards which the various definitions or descriptions of great men in several ages, and also the ordinary and popular notions, converge ; this seems implied by the manner in which the word itself, and still more the adjective "poetical," are continually used both in books and in the conversation of educated people. We hear it said from time to time, such and such a remark was quite "poetical ;" such and such a character, or landscape, or effect of light and shade, upon clouds, suppose, or on water, was "just what a poet would rejoice in ;" particular usages or expressions of uneducated men are said to have more or less of unconscious "poetry" in them ; and races, families, in-

dividuals, schools of policy, philosophy, or morals, nay, and sects in religion too, are said to differ from one another as being some more, some less "poetical." Thus it would be generally agreed on, we suppose, that the Spaniards, as a nation, have more poetry in them than the French; that the views of Plato and Pythagoras were more likely to approve themselves to a poetical mind than those of Aristotle or Epicurus; that the Scandinavian mythology was more poetical than those of ancient Egypt, or of India; that mountainous districts are more favourable to the poetical temper than unvaried plains, the habits of the country than those of the town, of an agricultural than of a commercial population.

Again, it is no unusual remark, when people are talking of little children, their sports and sayings and other indications of temperament, this or that trait was "truly "poetical;" this or that child has more "poetry" about him than the other. Nay, the same sort of thing may be and is not unfrequently observed, even in such slight matters as the fitting up of a room, the laying out of the nooks and glades of a garden, or the disposition of a flower-bed, whether by educated persons or uneducated.

Again, in the kindred arts, there is something which men commonly agree to designate as poetry; of course as being more or less analogous to poetry, properly so called, whatever that may be; the poetry of painting, of sculpture, of architecture, of music, is an expression only generally recognised among those who are judges in such matters. The pictures, e.g. of Raffaelle are felt to have more poetry in them than those of Rubens; the Grecian architecture is more poetical than the Roman, and the Gothic more so, perhaps, than either; and sometimes the art of sculpture itself is compared with that of painting, and decided to be the more poetical of the two. And to conclude with an example from the highest subject of all; is it not a reproach frequently cast upon the orthodox and Catholic side in theological debate, that the sincerest among them are led, not by reason, but by feelings akin to poetical ones; and on the other hand, is there not an

instinct which causes the youthful and ardent mind to shrink from utilitarian or rationalistic error, previous to accurate examination, as being essentially cold and unpoetical?

The question then arises, What all these things have in common, which should cause them thus to be represented by a common term, and that term appropriate, in the first instance, to a distinct branch of art? Such common quality, could it be ascertained, would evidently throw no small light on the nature of the art whose name it bears; it would clearly indicate that circumstance in the art which, according to the general feeling of mankind, is most characteristic of it. In searching for it, it seems natural first to turn one's attention to those theories of poetry, which the great masters of reason have sanctioned at various times. Aristotle, as is well known, considered the essence of poetry to be *Imitation*, or rather, perhaps, one should say, *Expression by metrical words*. *Expression* we say, rather than *imitation;* for the latter word clearly conveys a cold and inadequate notion of the writer's meaning, and is quite inapplicable to musical composition, which however he himself produces as affording obvious illustrations of the view which he was taking.

Will it then be a sufficient account of "the poetical" in the kindred arts, or in common life, to say that it is applied to those traits, or details, or accidents, which strike us as more "expressive" than ordinary? It will be true, perhaps, as far as it goes, but one should still desire some specification of what is meant by "expression." Now would it not be found, that when people use that term, they commonly mean something like this—that the direct enunciation of a fact or feeling is impeded, and the mind, full of that fact or feeling, finds out for itself indirect ways of conveying it to others? Thus the living countenance, voice, or figure, is more or less *expressive*, as it answers more or less exactly to the *changes* which take place in the mental habit or emotion. If settled in any one cast of feature, one tone, or one attitude, so as to appear incapable of any other, we do not call it simply "expres-

sive," however strongly the particular feeling may have stamped it. What obtains for it that denomination is its aptitude to obey the mind, and to reflect every passing shade from within. Why is this, and why is it thought much of, but because of the extreme *difficulty* of expounding to another in any satisfactory way the history but of a single moment in one's heart, much more its conflicts and changes? That face, that voice, that form is most *expressive*, which best serves the purpose of relieving men's instinctive wish to communicate, perhaps for the chance of engaging sympathy, these otherwise indescribable variations of thought and feeling. Are not the same likewise the most *poetical?*

So again (a topic before touched on), when we are comparing one with another the sports and fancies and playful imitations of children, every one must have observed how greatly they differ in this quality of Expression, or fulness of meaning; some being merely imitative, just enacting the gestures of their playmates, and echoing their words, while others, on the contrary, abound in quaint inventions of their own. And among these latter again may be observed a further and a very remarkable difference, according as any one particular thread of meaning is found to run more or less entirely through all their little sallies of thought or imagination. Some are more versatile, some more enthusiastic; some ready with whimsical resources to embody whatever fancy comes uppermost; others, as it may seem, ever on the watch to find ways of shadowing out, whether in words or in actions, some one particular group of fancies which has become dominant in their own minds. It is this latter class among children, if we mistake not, to which primarily and principally the title of "poetical" is attached; and the observation, duly followed up, may prove to be of no small service in guiding us to right notions of Poetry in the abstract. For example, (the reader will excuse the insignificance of the illustration should it really answer its purpose as an illustration), a child of seven or eight years old was heard to describe herself and her sister as follows: "Mary and I would

each of us like to be a bird, for Mary would like to *fly*, and I should like to *make a nest*." Every one probably would allow at once that there was something very poetical in this little flight of imagination. Why, but because it contrives to express, not directly, but by way of association and allusion, that which one should have thought far beyond the expressive powers of a child of that age. It gives a sort of sketch of her own and her sister's character, a brief history of both their minds. Now, if on coming to know more of the same two children, one perceived, as doubtless one should perceive, the contrast which one of them thus hit off running like two distinctive threads through the whole course of their little imaginative efforts, their ways of telling stories, their inventions in play, their remarks or speculations, whether serious or sportive, on striking objects in nature or art as they became acquainted with them: many, we suppose, at least among those who condescend to notice such things, would say, there was a good deal of "poetry" in the general character of such children; and the name in that case would clearly be applied to the instinctive skill with which they severally realized, in matters of themselves remote from all such associations, the visions which they delighted in respectively, of soaring or repose.

Without departing from the same illustration, we may carry the argument one step further. Suppose the same children grown up; of course the tastes which they thus expressed in childhood will be exercised and developed all their lives through; but such exercise and development will no longer be thought to give their characters a "poetical" air, except where being more or less impeded by outward circumstances or feelings of reserve, they find means to vent themselves indirectly, and covertly to engage the sympathies of those who understand them, by aid of associations often accidental, and subtle to any degree of refinement. The quiet and domestic character will be recognised as poetical, when, being cast upon the turmoil of busy life, it betrays itself to be for ever contriving imaginary escapes and little images of the repose

for which it longs: the animated and soaring temper in like manner, when untoward circumstances keep it still and in the shade, and it manages to relieve itself by the same sort of indirect exercise. The former will sympathize with those who in a great city cherish in secret the remembrance of their native mountains:—

> "Bright volumes of vapour through Lothbury glide,
> And a river flows on down the vale of Cheapside:"—

the latter, with the inland boy, who longs to be at sea, and assuages his longing, as Nelson is reported to have done, with every sort of sport or enterprise that may best remind him of maritime scenes and hazards. In both cases it is the *difficulty*, and the way of overcoming it, which marks the character as poetical.

So, again, in respect of those cases in ordinary life, the life, we mean, of uneducated people, which are generally confessed to raise their thoughts and language, perhaps, we might still more justly add, their behaviour, to something deserving that epithet: they are such as violent bodily pain; the death or burial of a dear friend; intense hope and fear, or bitter disappointment in some matter of personal affection; exile, or any thing approaching to it, as violent removal from their own home, especially if it be an hereditary home. It is the commonest possible remark that, on these and similar occasions, even the coldest and rudest minds express and behave themselves, comparatively, in a poetical way.

And the fact seems to be sufficiently accounted for, if we suppose the poetry to consist in the indirect expression of overpowering, but impeded feelings: impeded in their direct exhibition, as in these cases no doubt they are, partly by their very strength and intenseness, which renders it impossible at once to give them vent; and partly, in almost all minds, by an instinctive delicacy which recoils from exposing them openly, as feeling that they never can meet with full sympathy.

Reverting for a moment to some of the other instances above alluded to, of the conversational use of the words

poetry and *poetical*, let us see if they can be explained without violence on the hypothesis offered. Certain landscapes, it was observed—certain combinations of the colours and forms of nature—strike the intelligent observer as poetical, he can hardly tell how or why. "There is a great deal of *thought* in that sky:" "that effect of light and shade *looks as if it would do for a simile:*"—these are the kind of sayings which drop from lovers of scenery, and when we hear them, we may recognise their aptness and truth, without any idea of a particular train of thought, or object of comparison, having been in the speaker's mind. It is enough that we feel by an instinct, no matter how attained, that there *is some* leading idea, some *moral* in what we see, could we anyhow discern it. We feel that it answers, and tends to express, and by expression to soothe or develope, as the case may be, *some* state more or less complicated of human thought or feeling; that persons so affected would enter into the scene before us, and welcome and adopt it as more congenial to them than any words. When we feel this, and call such sights (or sounds) poetical, do we not so far countenance the notion, that where there is indirect expression of any engrossing mood of mind, there is Poetry, though without rhyme, metre, or words?

If from nature we pass to art, and consider (e.g.) what such a writer as Sir Joshua Reynolds meant by the "poetry" of painting or sculpture; we find him denying that quality to Rubens, and ascribing it to the great masters of the Roman school, and in an especial degree to Giulio Romano. "Rubens," he affirms[c], "never possessed *poetical conception of character*. In his representation of the highest characters in the Christian or fabulous world, instead of something above humanity, which might fill the idea which is conceived of such beings, the spectator finds little more than mere mortals, such as he meets with every day." At the same time, Sir Joshua places Rubens "in the first rank of illustrious painters," not on account of "any particular expression," but of the "general

[c] Works, edit. 1824, vol. ii. p. 300.

effect, the genius, which pervades and illuminates the whole." He ascribes to his works the quality of making the spectator "feel a degree of that enthusiasm with which the painter was carried away;" and says, that he "possessed an originality of matter by which he may be truly said to have extended the limits of the art[d]." So distinct, in the judgment of this great critic and artist, was the peculiar praise of Painting as an art from that which may be called "poetical" in it. In what he conceived this latter to consist, may be seen in his opinion of the Roman and Bolognese masters. Giulio Romano, according to him[e], possessed "the true poetical genius of painting, perhaps in a higher degree than any other painter whatever." Now, Giulio's manner is thus described by Du Fresnoy[f], in whose sentiments Reynolds has expressed his concurrence:—"He was a great imitator of the ancients, giving a clear testimony in all his productions, that he was desirous to restore to practice the very forms and fabrics which were ancient;" yet "his manner was drier and harder than any of Raffaelle's school; he did not exactly understand either light or shadow, or colouring; he is frequently harsh and ungraceful." Again, in comparing Raffaelle with Michael Angelo, Reynolds says[g], "The latter has more of *the poetical inspiration* . . . . his people are a superior order of beings. . . . Raffaelle's imagination is not so elevated; his figures are not so much disjoined from our own diminutive race of beings." Yet, to his works, the Cartoons especially, we are elsewhere[h] referred for choice examples, "how much the great style exacts from its professors to conceive and represent their subjects *in a poetical manner*." Again (and this bears on another comparison above-mentioned, that of sculpture with painting:) "What artist[i]," we are asked, "ever looked at the Torso without feeling a warmth of enthusiasm, as from the highest efforts of poetry?" Let such incidental notices as these be compared with the more definite account which the same

[d] Works, edit. 1824, vol. ii. pp. 296—298.
[e] Vol. iii. p. 152.
[f] Ibid., p. 176.
[g] Vol. i. p. 101.
[h] Ibid., p. 67.
[i] Vol. ii. p. 15.

writer gives in another place[j] of the poetical art:—"Its object, in common with painting, is to accommodate itself to all the natural propensities and inclinations of the mind. The very existence of poetry depends on the licence it assumes of deviating from actual nature, in order to gratify natural propensities by other means, which are found by experience full as capable of affording such gratification." What is this but saying that the "poetry" of art lies in its tendency to relieve certain longings of our nature after perfection in this or that kind? that the several schools, and models in each school, are more poetical one than another, as their several objects are more engrossing, more completely such as to fill the whole mind, and less attainable in any direct way? Thus the Roman school excels the Venetian and Flemish, because the beauty of design and form is higher and rarer, and, when truly felt, more enamouring to the imagination, than the beauty of colour and mere composition: Michael Angelo was more of a poet even than Raffaelle, because[k], "knowing that his hand could execute whatever his fancy could suggest," he permitted himself to be quite carried away by the grandeur of his conceptions, while Raffaelle was continually chastening his by a kind of Virgilian purity, judgment, and correctness: Rubens, on the contrary, who was equally great in many departments, whose enthusiasm was that of his art, not of his subject, is pronounced to have been wholly deficient in poetical conception: and, to conclude, if Sculpture be sometimes accounted nearer akin to Poetry than painting is, Sir J. Reynolds may seem to have explained this, where he says[l] that sculpture, from the nature of its material, can have relation to but one kind of painting, and *that* the highest and most poetical. From its very want of colouring, and the general scantiness of its means, it gives one, more than painting does, the notion of a full mind, struggling to express, with inadequate materials, some idea with which it labours.

A difficulty suggests itself on this head, of which it may

[j] Works, vol. ii. p. 93. [k] Ibid., p. 149. [l] Ibid., p. 12.

be as well to take notice. Reynolds, evidently following Bacon[m], supposes that there is some one high class of objects, the highest and most ideal of all, to the development of which poetry, properly so called, is confined; whereas our theory would extend it to all subjects, which can anyhow take entire hold of the imagination, and cause it to seek relief by indirect expression. The answer has already been hinted at, but may as well be stated here a little more formally. If poetry be what we have supposed, though its field will of course be as extensive as the tastes and passions of mankind, yet the need of it and its peculiar power will be more evident as it is employed on loftier objects, and such as lie further beyond our direct attainment; whose attractive force also is more complete, so that having once entered in they quickly possess the whole mind, and form henceforth its point of sight, causing it to view all things in relation to themselves. Thus antique subjects, *ceteris paribus*, are more poetical than modern, as being more out of reach: Achilles more so than Æneas, were it only from his mysterious and supernatural air, which renders it so much harder for his admirers to realize him. Thus also the old Platonic notion of ideas, elevating all things, both in history and in nature, into a sort of tokens of a higher world out of sight, bears a close analogy to high poetry. No wonder then if great and eloquent men, confining their view to such instances, have formed too exclusive a notion of the art itself. It may still be true that much inferior subjects may prove sources of poetry to this or that individual, in such measure as they fill his whole mind, and set his imagination at work in default of realities.

So much for the present, and surely on no mean authority, for the meaning of the term Poetry, when it is applied by analogy to the other arts.

The principle on which it is also applied to differences in national character, to sects of philosophy, sometimes even to theological systems, is perhaps yet more obvious. The Spaniards, we said, taken as a nation, would pro-

[m] Works, vol. i. p. 90, edit. 1803; Adv. of Learning, b. ii.

bably be called more poetical than the French. Why, but because they are more constant and more imaginative; apter to dwell upon things distant, obsolete, unattainable, and to supply the absence of their favourite objects as they may, by associations however indirect and inadequate. Again, the moral view of Plato and Pythagoras, and in no small degree of Aristotle and Zeno, was poetical, as lifting men out of "the ignorant present," and causing them to shape even trivial actions by reference to an archetype beyond the reach of man. The legends of Woden and Thor were more poetical than that of Osiris or of Brahma, because the latter, whatever play of fancy or depth of meaning one may discern in them, have no common moral, no sentiment, to the expression of which they all converge, as the Scandinavian stories do to that of military heroism. Gothic architecture (to give an instance half in art and half in religion) is more poetical than Grecian, because more mysterious, and related to a higher and more enthusiastic sentiment; the one to the love of perfect Form, the other to true Christian devotion. Finally, of the old Catholic views (if one may without profaneness introduce such a subject to close a group of miscellaneous earthly examples)—of the views of the Fathers it may be said, that they were more poetical than any others in the Church, filling the soul, even to overflowing, with the highest and greatest objects, and, by the doctrine of sacramental signs, assisting her to find and use, every where and always, means effectual, though indirect, for realizing to herself those objects, and bringing them near.

As far as these instances go, it would seem that the analogical applications of the word Poetry coincide well enough with Aristotle's notion of it, as consisting chiefly in Imitation or Expression, provided we understand that term with the two following qualifications:—1. That the thing to be imitated or expressed is some object of desire or regret, or some other imaginative feeling, the direct indulgence whereof is impeded:—2. That the mode of imitation or expression is *indirect*, the instruments of it being, for the most part, associations more or less accidental.

It would seem also that most of the leading phenomena of poetry may be solved by this account of its nature. To take first that which is most obvious, its connection with metre and music. Setting aside all mysterious natural aptitude, such as universal experience appears to attest, in certain combinations and orders of sounds, as compared with certain passions and moods of mind in ourselves; the very task of metrical arrangement will fall in with the poetical instinct, such as has been above described, in two respects. On the one hand, it shapes out a sort of channel for wild and tumultuous feelings to vent themselves by; feelings whose very excess and violence would seem to make the utterance of them almost impossible, for the very throng of thoughts and words, crowding all at once to demand expression[n]. In such cases, the conventional rules of metre and rhythm may evidently have the effect of determining, in some one direction, the overflow of sentiment and expression, wherewith the mind might otherwise be fairly oppressed. On the other hand, the like rules may be no less useful, in throwing a kind of veil over those strong or deep emotions, which need relief, but cannot endure publicity. The very circumstance of their being expressed in verse draws off attention from the violence of the feelings themselves, and enables people to say things which they could not venture on in prose, much in the same way as the musical accompaniment gives meaning to the gestures of the dance, and hinders them from appearing to the bystanders merely fantastic. This effect of metre seems quite obvious as far as regards the sympathies of others. Emotions which in their unrestrained expression would appear too keen and outrageous to kindle fellow-feeling in any one, are mitigated, and become comparatively tolerable, not to say

[n] [It is interesting to find almost these exact words turned, long afterwards, into poetry by Mr. Keble, in the poem named "Stammering," in the *Lyra Innocentium*, (Ed.):—

"When heart and head are both o'erflowing,
When eager words within are glowing,
And all at once for utterance crowd and throng,
How hard to find no tongue!"]

interesting to us, when we find them so far under controul, as to leave those who feel them at liberty to pay attention to measure and rhyme, and the other expedients of metrical composition.

But over and above the effect on others, we apprehend that even in a writer's own mind there commonly exists a sort of instinctive delicacy, which finds its account in the work of arranging lines and syllables, and is content to utter, by their aid, what it would have shrunk from setting down in the language of conversation: the metrical form thus furnishing, at the same time, a vent for eager feeling, and a veil of reserve to draw over them. All this, if it may be said without irreverence, would seem to be exemplified in perfection in the Psalms, and in those other portions of the inspired writings which take the form of impassioned poetry. From their perfect parallelism, they are the most artificial of all compositions, yet none ever so apt to relieve the deepest and most overflowing minds; exhibiting, therefore, by their very form, as compared with their matter, the perfection of that self-controul which must itself be the perfection of a mixed creature such as man: "thoughts that breathe and words that burn," exactly obeying a certain high law, and shaped by it into perfect order.

This notion of the uses of metre, as subsidiary to the end we attribute to poetry, may seem to be confirmed by reference to those compositions, to which the term Poetry is applied without any sort of metre. Something will always be discoverable in them, which answers the purpose just now assigned to numbers; of regulating, and thereby mitigating, the expression of feeling, and so reconciling to it both the writer and the reader. Thus, in the prose romances of Sir Walter Scott, and in all others which would be justly considered poetical, it will be found, we believe, that the story is in fact interposed, as a kind of transparent veil, between the listener and the narrator's real drift and feelings. The history of Waverley, or Henry Morton, or Ivanhoe, is but a pretext for the author's employing himself on those scenes, and characters, and

sentiments, which would best satisfy the cravings of his own ruling fancy. The rules of painting, sculpture, architecture, music, answer perhaps the same purpose, whenever we find in any of their provinces respectively what would be commonly denominated poetical composition. Men's attending to proportions, perspective, harmony, throughout the indulgence of emotions ever so vehement, is like articulation in the sounds they utter; it distinguishes our grief or joy from the mere sensations of infants or of irrational animals.

Thus poetry, in its metrical form as well as in its substance, would seem to be deducible from two great instinctive necessities of our common nature—the same to which it was long ago referred by Aristotle: the need of some vent for absorbing or exciting thoughts, which he calls imitation or expression: and the need of so controuling that expression, as that the presence of reason, subduing and ordering it, shall be felt, and make itself discernible throughout; which in this case becomes what he calls the instinct of harmony and of rhythm.

Another phenomenon connected with poetry, which would seem to accord well with the foregoing account of its origin, is the sort of character, which in common life is usually regarded as poetical—the combination of shyness with eagerness, of reserve with enthusiasm: the state of mind which makes people unable to remain quiet, yet causes them to shrink, almost with loathing, from any thing like an unreserved exposure of their feelings. In sketching the poetical temperament, the traits generally adopted, we imagine, would be such as in Beattie's Minstrel:—

"Responsive to the tuneful pipe, when all
In sprightly dance the village youth was join'd,
Edwin, of melody aye held in thrall,
From the rude gambol far remote reclin'd,
Sooth'd with the soft notes warbling down the wind:"—

or as the following, related by Burns of himself. "There is scarcely any earthly object gives me more—I do not

know if I should call it *pleasure*—but something which exalts me, something which enraptures me—than to walk in the sheltered side of the wood, or high plantation, in a cloudy winter-day, and hear the stormy wind howling among the trees, and raving over the plain. It is my best season for devotion." It is obvious that all such anecdotes tend to exemplify more or less exactly, what has just now been said, of Expression, *controuled and modified by a certain reserve*, being the very soul of Poetry.

On the same principle may be explained the fact, that love of natural objects, and of whatever makes scenery, especially of the wilder and more romantic, rather than of the cultivated and beautiful kind, is an acknowledged element in the poetical character. Lovers of scenery may perhaps be found, who would nowhere be accounted poetical: but you would hardly find a poetical temperament, not keenly alive to the forms and sounds of nature, so far as circumstances place them within its reach. This seems to be best explained in the supposition, that there is a certain intended harmony, between those forms or sounds on the one hand, and our tempers, settled or varying, our shades and combinations of thought and feeling, on the other hand. So that minds full or excited, being placed where there is store of such objects, are instinctively drawn to select and combine those among them, which respond most truly to their own mood at the time. And this taste, whether going on silently and instinctively within the mind itself, as the person looks around him, or recorded by the pen or pencil, or in any other way, supplies just the kind of indirect vent or relief, which we have proposed as the essential characteristic of poetry, and the constant object of aspiration to poetical minds.

Here, no doubt, is one *final* cause of poetry; to innumerable persons it acts as a safety-valve, tending to preserve them from mental disease. At the same time a circumstance is explained, which is frequently felt as a disparagement of the poetical character; that it is in some sort allied to extravagance and distraction of mind.

Plato[o], as is well known, takes this for an inseparable adjunct, if not for the leading idea, of poetry, that it lies in a sort of unaccountable enthusiasm, inspired, but to men appearing like insanity. Aristotle assigns as the natural qualification of a poet, that he should be *εὐφυὴς ἢ μανικός*: i.e. that he should either be possessed with some overpowering thought or emotion, requiring such relief as we have described, in order to prevent it from terminating in actual madness; or else that he should have the power of transforming himself into the likeness of one so possessed and so relieving himself:—a distinction of which more will be said presently. And Shakespeare, in lines too well known to be here quoted, reckons "the lunatic, the lover, and the poet," but as three specimens of the same general head. Testimonies these, which all appear more or less favourable to the doctrine, that poetry is the proper relief of minds, overpowered as it were with such engrossing idea.

The distinction from Aristotle, noticed a little above, will remove one of the most plausible objections to our theory. If we are asked, are there not multitudes of poets, confessedly of a high order of excellence, in whose works it will be impossible to assign any one such central thought or instinct, attracting to itself the writer's whole mind; we cannot deny it. We have, for example, Dryden. It were a strange definition of poetry which should exclude him; yet who shall say what was the prevailing object which forced him into poetical expression? seeing that he seems to have written equally *con amore* on opposite sides of the same question: his thoughts breathe and his words burn as keenly for Cromwell as for Charles. We should say then of Dryden, that he had in perfection the *εὐφυία*, the versatility and power of transforming himself into the resemblance of real sentiment, which the great philosopher has set down as one natural qualification for poetry, but that he wanted the other and more genuine spring of the art—*τὸ μανικόν*—the enthusiasm, the passionate devotion to some one class of objects or train of thought. He

[o] Ion, c. 5, p. 534; Phædr., p. 245.

could see and imitate such enthusiasm in others, and help them to express it, and often kindle it in his readers; but not feeling it in himself, he could not write as if he felt it. If we may be allowed to denote the distinction here intended by the words *primary* and *secondary*, we would say, place Dryden, if you will, at the very head of the list of *secondary* poets; but there is a want of reality about his manner which must hinder his admission into the other class. Had his circumstances in life been other than they were, he might still have written verse to amuse himself, or exercise his talent, but we find in him no indication of an overflowing mind, needing relief, which would have compelled him to write in any case. Had there been no poets before, he would not have invented poetry; whereas no one, we think, can read with understanding Homer or Lucretius, Virgil or Shakespeare, without just the contrary impression.

It will be perceived that the words, 'Primary' and 'Secondary,' are not here used as measuring the ability of the writer, but the kind and character of the composition. It will often, perhaps oftener than not, happen, that there is greater skill in composition, and felicity of language, in those who adopt poetry as a mere mode or branch of literature, than in those who are urged into it for their own relief. Just as well-instructed foreigners may speak a language with more exactness and propriety than the ruder natives, yet will there be always a certain indigenous tone, distinguishing, to a practised ear, those who cannot help speaking it, from those who have more or less perfectly brought themselves to do so. Should it, then, at any time happen that one speaks of famous writers, Euripides, for instance, or Milton, or Dryden, as belonging but to the secondary class in poetry, this is no depreciation at all of their abilities: it is merely saying, that they rather *made themselves* great in that line, than *were driven* to it by an *instinct* of nature. Whether, in consequence, one charm, and that the most appropriate charm of poetry, be wanting in those writers, or no, is a different question, only to be solved by the experience of unbiassed readers.

Another seeming difficulty is, how to account on the foregoing hypothesis for such a phenomenon as a "full-grown epic:" the construction of which might naturally seem too complicated and too calm an employment for minds overflowing in the manner above described. But this is an objection only at first sight. The mind has its ἤθη as well as its πάθη,—its permanent tastes, habits, inclinations, which, when directly checked, are as capable of relief by poetical expression as the more sudden and violent emotions. Only the *mode* of relief will vary: as lyric poems differ from narrative or descriptive. Suppose, e.g. that Homer wrote under the pressure of a romantic sort of regret for the heroic age of Greece, which he knew only by the faint traces of it among which he had been brought up; that Virgil sought an outlet for his love of woods and rivers and all that is refined and melancholy in nature; Lucretius, on the contrary, for the deep awe with which he contemplated the mysterious scenery of the universe; that Æschylus, by his tragedies, lightened his oppressive sense of the misery of man, and the dark ways of Providence; and that Shakespeare gave play to the real sympathy which he seems to have felt towards all natural and common affections in a degree hardly conceivable by ordinary men. In these several cases it would appear, that the elaborate narration, argument, or description may as truly relieve the state of mind to which we ascribe it, as any sudden burst of high or plaintive feeling would be relieved by lyrical or elegiac composition.

In a survey of this kind, however, one thing must be taken into account, not so obvious at first sight; viz. that instinctive or primary poetry does not always succeed in finding out, among existing moulds or forms, the most appropriate whereby to express itself. The mind is often turned, by accident, or caprice, or some external influence, into a channel more or less inconvenient for its movements. Virgil's cast of thought, it is evident, was altogether rural and melancholy, flowing out naturally in such a poem as the Georgics. When the command of Augustus, or some other motive, determined him to write

an Æneid [p], it is curious to see this instinct working its way through all the incumbrance of the epic story; availing itself of every gleam and breath for the admission of country sights and sounds, and the comments of a shy and pensive yet playful mind. As far as the epic goes, he is a secondary poet, working evidently by rule, and against the grain; but the development which is continually going on of his true self, in descriptive or moralizing sketches, gives to the Æneid also the freshness and charm, which Virgil never surely could have imparted to it, in its professed character of a warlike Homeric tale. The epic, therefore, or any other form, may act, as was said, like a safety-valve to a full mind, either directly, as in the Iliad and Odyssey, or indirectly and incidentally, as in the Æneid.

By keeping in mind the distinctions above explained, first betwen *primary* and *secondary* poets, next between the poetical expression of *settled tastes* and of *present feelings*, we may, it is apprehended, go a good way in classifying the treasures of the art. But it is evident that no complete arrangement can be made of them; since if our notion of poetry in general be correct, the subjects of it must needs be as various as the tastes and passions which require relief in mankind, and the modes as numerous as the associations of different individuals. In fact, every person whatever who has either decided tastes or strong emotions will have a poetry of his own; i.e. he will hit upon his own ways of indirectly expressing or relieving such his inclinations, when their direct indulgence is checked. And this expression being put into metrical words, constitutes, as we have endeavoured to shew, what the world has agreed to call poetry, and as such to sympathize with it.

Hence the peculiar delight which some men feel in some poetry will be found, if analyzed, mainly to depend on the sympathy they feel for the character of the author, indirectly made known to them through his verses. It is *that*, much more than the subject, or the skill of treating it,

[p] See Froude's "Remains," vol. ii. p. 318.

which really takes possession of the reader's mind, and makes him uneasy if he has not the volume in hand.

At the same time, we are far from asserting that such a fondness, existing in any person, or in any number of persons, for a particular poem, is a certain indication of the author's being of that class, which we have ventured to denominate *Primary*. It may be, their liking for him arises not from any particular truth of expression in him, but from some accidental association of their own. In feeling a pulse, it may sometimes happen that the pulsation which seems to us another's is in our own veins. So in the case we are now imagining, the poetry is in the reader not in the writer, but the writer gets the credit of it.

Many other observations might be made on the tests of primary, as distinguished from secondary poetry, which is indeed one of the most curious and interesting portions of the whole theory; bearing (among other things) no small analogy to the difference between what is genuine, what more or less affected, in manners and conduct. But we will not dwell longer on mere preliminaries. If we have at all succeeded in explaining to the reader what our notion of real poetry is, he cannot but perceive how much to our purpose, either in the way of confirmation or correction, must be the appearance of such a Life as this; affording us abundantly the means of ascertaining, whether the character of this one great Poet at least were really such as we should have gathered from a general view of his writings—his tastes and inclinations, those which we may conceive instinctively shaping to themselves such a vent or channel, as those writings exhibit. The biography may serve as an actual experiment, to verify or disprove the conclusions, which the theory as applied to the poems would give. We will explain our meaning. If poetry be, as above supposed, the expression of decided taste or strong emotion, checked in its direct indulgence; and if the poetry of Sir Walter Scott was of the primary or instinctive class; we should expect to find with tolerable certainty, in so large a mass of materials, the one prevailing character or element, the centre of

attraction, round which the whole had gathered; and again, on his life becoming known to us in minute detail, such as these volumes disclose it in, we should not only look for perpetual indications of the same ruling taste or passion, but also for such occasional admixture of checks and interruptions, and reasons for reserve, as would be most apt, on our hypothesis, to urge him into some kind of poetry. These are the requirements of our theory; now what are the facts? On the one side, the poetry of Sir W. Scott,—including as above, under that term, the whole series of the Waverley Novels, although not written in verse,—is possessed and animated throughout by the spirit, not simply of chivalrous honour, but of that particular form of chivalry which had reigned among his own ancestors, the clans of the Scottish border. It is the nucleus round which his successive creations accumulated. We may in a manner account for them all, on the supposition, that the author had indulged himself, early and long, in a kind of imaginative regret for the departure of those heroic days from his own native soil and home. It might however have been imagined that all this, instead of expressing real feeling, was merely the excursiveness of a full and strong mind, over the ground which chanced to be most familiar to it. But this idea vanishes at once, when we come on the other side to be acquainted with the author's life. We there find, that what a superficial view might have represented as the mere play of his literary fancy, was in fact so serious a principle in him, that one, who was well entitled to judge, considers it as furnishing the clue no less to the turning-points of his character and course of life, than to the cast and tenor of his writings.

"The whole system of conceptions and aspirations, of which his early active life was the exponent, resolves itself into a romantic idealization of Scottish aristocracy. He desired to secure for his descendants (for himself he had very soon acquired something infinitely more flattering to self-love and vanity) a decent and honourable middle station, in a scheme of life so constituted originally, and which his fancy pictured as capable of being so revived, as to admit of the kindliest personal con-

tact between (almost) the peasant at the plough, and the magnate with revenues rivalling the monarch's. It was the patriarchal,—the clan system, that he thought of; one that never prevailed even in Scotland (within the historical period that is to say) except in the Highlands, and in his own dear Border land. This system knew nothing of commerce; as little certainly of literature, beyond the raid-ballad of the wandering harper,

"'High plac'd in hall, a welcome guest.'

His filial imagination shrunk from marring the antique, if barbarous, simplicity. I suspect that at the highest elevation of his literary renown, when princes bowed to his name, and nations thrilled at it, he would have considered losing all that at a change of the wind as nothing, compared to parting with his place as the Cadet of Harden and Clansman of Buccleugh, who had, no matter by what means, reached such a position, that when a notion arose of embodying a 'Buccleugh Legion,' not a Scott in the forest would have thought it otherwise than natural for Abbotsford to be one of the field officers [9]."

This testimony, coinciding so nearly with what our theory leads us to expect, would seem to confirm that theory as strongly as a single instance can do. But it may be well to explain a little more particularly, first, what is meant by the assertion that Scott's central idea was the chivalry of the Borders especially, and next, how critically many circumstances in his life were adapted to furnish at once the check and the spur, the combination whereof seems to constitute the proper and immediate cause of poetical expression.

Now there are two remarks commonly in people's mouths when they are comparing Scott's writings one with another, and both of them acknowledged just by Mr. Lockhart, which lead immediately to the notion we are now enforcing: the one, that his *first* works in each kind, the "Lay of the Last Minstrel" and "Waverley," have a charm about them more vivid than any of the rest; the other, that free and energetic as Scott always appears, it is upon *Scottish* ground exclusively that his genius seems to be

[9] Vol. vii. p. 405.

properly at home. *Border* Romance, and *Highland* Romance, are felt to be the two subjects most congenial to him: the subjects wherewith all that is most characteristic and engaging in his later writings is found associated. Perhaps on further consideration it will be perceived that these two subjects do in fact coincide; that as other scenes and histories, treated by him, captivate more or less as they have more or less analogy with these, so the second of these, the Highland subject, engaged him, and of course his readers, most effectually by its close resemblance in many parts, almost amounting to identity, with the first. For illustration's sake, we will suppose his narratives, in prose and in verse, arranged in three classes: the "Lay of the Last Minstrel" standing at their head as a kind of archetype or standard form, to which the rest, how diversified soever, may in effect be referred. There will be Border stories, such as the "Lay" itself, "Guy Mannering," "Old Mortality," the "Monastery," &c.: Highland stories, e.g. the "Lady of the Lake," "Waverley," "Rob Roy:" and stories more or less remote from either, whether within the limits of Scotland, as "Marmion," the "Antiquary," the "Heart of Mid-Lothian," the "Pirate," or altogether foreign, as "Ivanhoe," "Quintin Durward," "Kenilworth," the "Tales of the Crusaders."

Now what was there in the supposed archetype, the Border chivalry such as it is represented in the "Lay," to distinguish it, in Scott's eyes especially, from other forms of baronial and feudal life? There was the spirit of clanship—the tie of blood added to that of feudal allegiance: there was the union of local and family quarrels with national warfare after the manner of borderers; and the combination of high heroic feeling with the recklessness of marauding adventure: there was perpetual connection, more than enough to dignify the subject, with the greatest names and events in Scottish history; and above all, there was the continually recurring sense, "These are my own native scenes, these are the men whose blood is running in my veins." He had known the ground from his childish years, and felt as if he had known the men too: he felt

that he had a right and interest in them such as few besides him could have; and so he went warbling on, with constant attachment and unexhausted powers, only with infinite variations high and low, the strains which had been the delight of his very boyhood. The well-known origin of the "Lay" very happily illustrates this. It was not undertaken with a view to publicity, or with any thought of poetical excellence, but simply as one among other sallies by which he was accustomed to transfer himself in fancy into the old Border times. Of success as an original author he seems previously to have had little or no thought; and it is most remarkable that he should have gone on so long in literary pursuits, before either he or the world made the discovery of his having any particular talent of the kind.

"The story of Gilpin Horner was told by an old gentleman to Lady Dalkeith, and she, much diverted with his actually believing so grotesque a tale, insisted that I should make it into a Border ballad. I don't know if ever you saw my lovely chieftainess; if you have, you must be aware that it is *impossible* for any one to refuse her request, as she has more of the angel in face and temper than any one alive: so that if she had asked me to write a ballad on a broomstick I must have attempted it. I began a few verses, to be called the Goblin Page; and they lay long by me, till the applause of some friends whose judgment I asked induced me to resume the poem; so on I wrote, knowing no more than the man in the moon how I was to end. At length the story appeared so uncouth, that I was fain to put it into the mouth of my old minstrel; lest the nature of it should be misunderstood, and I should be suspected of setting up a new school of poetry, instead of a feeble attempt to imitate the old." "It has great faults," he had said just before, "of which no one can be more sensible than I am myself. Above all, it is deficient in that continuity which a story ought to have, and which, were it to write again, I would endeavour to give it. But I began and wandered forward, like one in a pleasant country, getting to the top of one hill to see a prospect, and to the bottom of another to enjoy a shade; and what wonder if my course has been devious and desultory[r]?"

[r] Vol. ii. pp. 27, 28.

Mr. Lockhart's remarks are well worth adding :—

"It is curious to trace the small beginnings and gradual development of his design. The lovely Countess of Dalkeith hears a wild rude legend of Border *diablerie*, and sportively asks him to make it the subject of a ballad. He had been already labouring in the elucidation of the 'quaint Inglis' ascribed to an ancient seer and bard of the same district, and perhaps completed his own sequel, intending the whole to be included in the third volume of the 'Minstrelsy.' He assents to Lady Dalkeith's request, and casts about for some new variety of diction and rhyme, which might be adopted without impropriety in a closing strain of the same collection. Sir John Stoddart's casual recitation, a year before, of Coleridge's unpublished 'Christabel,' had fixed the music of that able fragment in his memory; and it occurs to him, that by throwing the story of 'Gilpin Horner' into somewhat of a similiar cadence, he might produce such an echo of the later metrical romance, as would serve to connect his *conclusion* of the primitive Sir Tristrem with his imitations of the common popular ballad in the 'Grey Brother' and 'Eve of St. John.' A single scene of feudal festivity in the hall of Branksome, disturbed by some pranks of a nondescript goblin, was probably all that he contemplated; but his accidental confinement (through a kick from a horse) in the midst of the volunteer camp, gave him leisure to meditate his theme to the sound of the bugle :—and suddenly there flashes on him the idea of extending his simple outline, so as to embrace a vivid panorama of that old Border life of war and tumult and all earnest passions, with which his researches on the 'Minstrelsy' had by degrees fed his imagination, until even the minutest feature had been taken home and realized with unconscious intenseness of sympathy; so that he had won for himself, *in the past*, another world, hardly less complete or familiar than the present. Erskine or Cranstoun suggests that he would do well to divide the poem into cantos, and prefix to each a motto explanatory of the action, after the fashion of Spenser in the 'Fairy Queen.' He pauses for a moment; and the happiest conception of the frame-work of a picturesque narrative that ever occurred to any poet—one that Homer might have envied—the creation of the ancient harper starts to life. By such steps did the 'Lay of the Last Minstrel' grow out of the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border[s]."

[s] "Life," vol. ii. p. 23.

There is somewhat pleasing, may we not say affecting, in the thought, that one whom he valued and respected so much as he did the late Duchess of Buccleugh should have been the person whose casual request led to the composition of his first great poem, and so hit out the spark which has now become such an orb of poetical fame: that she who in classical language would have been called his *muse* was one of whom he could speak as follows: writing to Mr. Morritt on his return from a tour in the Hebrides.

"I would have you to know I only returned on the 10th current, and the most agreeable thing that I found was your letter. I am sure you must know I had need of something pleasant, for the death of the beautiful, the kind, the affectionate and generous Duchess of Buccleugh gave me a shock, which . . . . would not have been exceeded, unless by my own family's sustaining a similar deprivation. She was indeed a light set upon a hill, and had all the grace which the most accomplished manners and the most affable address could give to those virtues, by which she was raised still higher than by rank. As she always distinguished me by her regard and confidence, and as I had many opportunities of seeing her in the active discharge of duties, in which she rather resembled a descended angel than an earthly being, you will excuse my saying so much about my own feelings on an occasion where sorrow has been universal.

"The survivor," (we cannot refrain from adding the rest of the passage, although not immediately connected with this part of our argument, both on account of its own beauty as an expression of considerate friendship and manly grief, and the light which it throws on an important subject, to be hereafter more particularly mentioned:) "the survivor has displayed a strength and firmness of mind seldom equalled, where the affection has been so strong and mutual, and amidst the very high station and commanding fortune, which so often render self-control more difficult, because so far from being habitual. I trust for his own sake, as well as for that of thousands to whom his life is directly essential, and hundreds of thousands to whom his example is important, that God, as He has given him fortitude to bear this inexpressible shock, will add strength of constitution to support him in the struggle. He has written to me on the occasion in

a style becoming a man and a Christian submissive to the will of God, and willing to avail himself of the consolations which remain among his family and friends. I am going to see him, and how we shall meet, God knows: but though 'an iron man of iron mould' upon many of the occasions of life in which I see people most affected, and a peculiar contemner of the common-place sorrow which I see paid to the departed, this is a case in which my stoicism will not serve me. They both gave me reason to think they loved me, and I returned their regard with the most sincere attachment; the distinction of rank being, I think, set apart on both sides. But God's will be done. I will dwell no longer upon this subject[t]."

To return to our argument, and resume the classification we were attempting to institute of his works: the "Lay," as it was undertaken, so to speak, from instinct, so it seems to have combined beyond all other subjects the points towards which his instinct bore him; and not least, perhaps in the time in which his narrative is cast. For it is observable that Scott loved throughout to dwell rather on the decaying age of chivalry than on its high and palmy state. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries suit him better on the whole than the period of the Crusades, or of the wars of York and Lancaster: chiefly, as we believe, because the former era seemed to lie more within reach, and more easily blended itself with the recollections of his boyhood. According to the strong common sense and love of truth which were prevailing ingredients in his character as a man, mere fancy never satisfied him as a poet. He always wanted to realize things; to feel that he had under him a true substantial spot of earth; and living, as he did, in a kind of imaginative regret for the decay of chivalry and clanship, the age of Elizabeth, when such splendours were in great measure matter of history, had something in it more engaging to him than the earlier generations of knights and enchanters of whom he read in his favourite romances. Thus, even in the date assigned to it, the story of the "Lay" was most attractive.

[t] Vol. iii. pp. 290-2.

And though both this, and the intimate association of the narrative with the fortunes of the house of Buccleugh were wanting in the subsequent Border romances, they possess to the full the other great charm of the "Lay,"—the perpetual feeling that the author is hovering over things and places dear to him almost from his childhood. The attachment to such early recollections, and the shadowy magic by which nature delights to recall them, is the leading feature in the Bertram of "Guy Mannering." Nothing of the kind surely was ever so exquisite as his landing by his father's ruined castle, and wondering at his own dreamy consciousness of having been once familiar with the scene, followed by the incident of the ballad-tune taken up by the girl who was washing just by. We will transcribe part of the passage, though doubtless well known to all our readers.

"'Why is it,' he thought, continuing to follow out the succession of ideas which the scene prompted—'why is it that some scenes awaken thoughts which belong as it were to dreams of early and shadowy recollection, such as my old Brahmin Moonshie would have ascribed to a state of previous existence? Is it the visions of our sleep that float confusedly in our memory, and are recalled by the appearance of such real objects as in any respects correspond to the phantoms they presented to our imagination? How often do we find ourselves in society which we have never before met, and yet feel impressed with a mysterious and ill-defined consciousness that neither the scene, the speakers, nor the subject is entirely new; nay, feel as if we could anticipate that part of the conversation which has not yet taken place! It is even so with me while I gaze upon that ruin; nor can I divest myself of the idea, that these massive towers, and that dark gateway, retiring through its deep-vaulted and ribbed arches, and dimly lighted by the court-yard beyond, is not entirely strange to me; can it be that they have been familiar to me in infancy, and that I am to seek in their vicinity those friends of whom my childhood had still a tender though faint remembrance?' Presently afterwards, 'It is odd enough,' said Bertram, fixing his eye upon the arms and gateway, and partly as it were thinking aloud, 'it is odd the tricks which our memory plays us: the remnants of an old prophecy, or song, or rhyme, of some

kind or other, recur to my recollection upon hearing that motto.' And again : arguing upon the embarrassing state of his own feelings and recollection,—'Yes,' he said, 'I preserved my language among the sailors, most of whom spoke English ; and when I could get into a corner by myself I used to sing all that song over from beginning to end. I have forgot it all now ; but I remember the tune well, though I cannot guess what should at present so strongly recall it to my memory.'

"He took his flageolet from his pocket and played a simple melody. Apparently the tune awoke the corresponding associations of a damsel, who, at a fine spring about half way down the descent, and which had once supplied the castle with water, was engaged in bleaching linen. She immediately took up the song.—

'Are these the links of Forth, she said,
Or are they the crooks of Dee,
Or the bonnie woods of Warroch-head,
That I sae fain would see?'

"'By heaven,' said Bertram, 'it is the very ballad. I must learn these words from the girl.'"

All this seems to us to acquire the greatest additional interest, when we come to know the particulars of Sir Walter's life, and that "Guy Mannering" is the tale in which, perhaps more distinctly than in any other, he has embodied his own personal remembrances, both in the transactions with the advocate, Pleydell, and in the scenery of Liddesdale ; while the hints which occasionally recur, that all takes place within the sphere of "the Deuk, God bless him," Dinmont's landlord, help us to see how the author was ever looking wistfully towards his own clan and home—what a family pride and pleasure he felt in tracing among the modern Border farmers the hospitality and frankness and independence of the old Border warriors, with something occasionally of their pugnacity.

It was almost a matter of course that such a mind, so trained, having found accidentally its power over other men's sympathies, and beginning to look abroad for subjects beyond the Border, should at once light upon the Highlands ; a region which had the great advantage of

exhibiting its peculiar form of the chivalric and feudal life in fragments far more perfect than anything to be found in the Lowlands; a region, too, with which Scott had very early become acquainted, and where no doubt he had been accustomed instinctively to verify or correct the impressions which his reading had given him of the bearing of human nature under such a system. The Highland and the Border life were alike characterised by clanship and the other great marks of a feudal state—by a regular course of foray and reprisal, checked mainly by a common hatred of a neighbouring race, and mingling continually with the great stream of Scottish history. The differences in scenery, sentiment, and modes of warfare, were just such as he knew how to make available for bringing out both pictures with full effect. Yet it must be allowed on the whole that the Lowland feeling not undecidedly prevails. One always perceives that the narrator himself would rather fight on horse-back than on foot. None of his Highland martial ballads are so completely *con amore* as that (e.g.) in the "Antiquary:"—

"They saddled a hundred milk-white steeds,
They hae bridled a hundred black,
With a chafron of steel on each horse's head,
And a good knight upon his back.

"They had na ridden a mile, a mile,
A mile, but barely ten,
When Donald came branking down the brae,
Wi' twenty thousand men.

"Their tartans they were waving wide,
Their glaives were glancing clear:
The pibrochs rung frae side to side,
Would deafen ye to hear.

"The great Earl in his stirrups stood,
That Highland host to see:—
'Now here a knight that's stout and good
May prove a jeopardie.

"'What wouldst thou do, my squire so gay,
That rides beside my rein,
Were ye Glenallan's Earl this day,
And I were Roland Cheyne?

"'To turn the rein were shame and sin,
To fight were wondrous peril:—
What would ye do now, Roland Cheyne,
Were ye Glenallan's Earl?'

"'Were I Glenallan's Earl this tide,
And ye were Roland Cheyne,
My spur should be in my horse's side,
And my bridle on his mane.

"'If they hae twenty thousand blades,
And we twice ten times ten,
Yet they hae but their tartan plaids,
And we are mail-clad men.

"'My horse shall ride through ranks so rude,
As through the moorland fern;
Then ne'er let the gentle Norman blood
Grow cauld for Highland kerne.'"

His "Bonnie Dundee" will occur to every one as being pitched in the same key:—

"The Gordon has ask'd of him whither he goes—
'Wheresoever shall guide me the spirit of Montrose:
Your grace in short space shall hear tidings of me,
Or that low lies the bonnet of bonnie Dundee.'
* * * * *
"He wav'd his proud hand, and the trumpets were blown,
The kettle-drums beat, and the horsemen mov'd on,
Till on Ravelston crag and on Clermiston lee
Died away the wild war-note of bonnie Dundee.'"

Again, noble as are the views of Highland scenery, his touch in describing them appears to us that of a visiter rather than of a native. In the progress, for example, from Glasgow to Rob Roy's country, and in the wanderings of Fitz-James in the "Lady of the Lake," everything is regularly described. He does not assume, in the exquisite manner which lends such a charm to the "Lay,"

that the reader knows all the ground, and only wants one bold line or two to call up the complete picture. Still, the Highland subject, with a few exceptions which will presently be accounted for, would seem to stand second in order of interest; owing, as we conjecture, to its most nearly resembling his first and darling field of thought.

Among the other tales, a distinction has been made (as already remarked), and on the whole perhaps a just distinction, in favour of those whose scene is laid in Scotland. And of these, three more especially seem to bear the stamp of their author's genius: the "Antiquary," the "Heart of Mid-Lothian," and the "Pirate." But the tragic part of the "Antiquary," the fortunes of the House of Glenallan, turns altogether upon points of feudal feeling; and the lighter part, the character of the Antiquary himself, is now known to be grounded almost entirely on Scott's reminiscence of his early life; and on his real sympathy for a kind of lore, which, if not nearly akin to the romantic, has ever proved to it at least a most useful handmaid. Viewed in this light, the antiquarian parts of his correspondence acquire an interest for the general reader which could not well otherwise belong to them. For "Walter had soon begun to collect out-of-the-way things of all sorts. He had," in his *den* at his father's house, before his professional life had begun, "more books than shelves; a small painted cabinet, with Scotch and Roman coins in it, &c. A claymore and Lochaber axe, given him by old Invernahyle, mounted guard on a little print of Prince Charlie; and Broughton's saucer was hooked up against the wall below it[u]." At the time, no doubt, this seemed to his acquaintance a mere fancy; but we perceive now that it was a poetical instinct; he was seeking to realize by visible tokens and memorials, the scenes and events which he delighted to imagine. "He was *makin himsell* a' the time," said one of his old companions: "but he didna ken may be what he was about till years had passed. At first he thought o' little, I dare say, but the queerness and the fun[v]." The two ingredients then which have been before

[u] Vol. i. p. 178.

[v] Ibid., p. 195.

mentioned, the love of Scottish chivalry, and the delight he had in living over again his early days, will account for whatever is most striking in this romance also, undoubtedly one of the most generally captivating of the series.

As to the story of Jeanie Deans, remote as it is from anything that can be called chivalrous, that defect is more than made up by excess in the other sort of interest. He has told it like something that had happened at his own door, availing himself of his thorough knowledge, both of all the localities of Edinburgh, and of the manners and opinions of the stricter class of Presbyterians, among whom, from his parents' bias, he had received much of his early training.

The "Pirate" remains; the likest an exception to our theory of all Sir Walter's compositions; for it is neither a knightly tale, nor do his own Border recollections predominate in it; yet most readers, we suppose, will agree in ranking it with those which have been mentioned, as truly and freely flowing from his peculiar vein. The "Life" explains this, by producing his journal of a voyage, in which he made himself thoroughly acquainted with the scenery and manners of Zetland. In the cast of legendary superstition current among that people he was long before versed; and his intimacy with the family of Clark, of Eldin, had taught him early not a little, for a landsman, of nautical society, and of life on shipboard. Then the characters of Minna and Breada, if report speak true, are sketched from the life; and the whale-fishing, the cliffs and craigsmen, even the wrecking of the Zetlanders, were just the wild sports and forays of the Border, only on another element. On the whole, the "Pirate" may seem less remote from the former fields of his genius than it appears at first sight; and it possesses in an eminent degree the charm of sea scenery, winds, waters, clouds, and cliffs; and also that which Sir Walter himself regarded as being eminently his own talisman. Having noticed in his journal that he had given an engraving of himself to young Davidoff "for his uncle, the celebrated

Black Captain of the campaign of 1812; it is," he adds, "curious, that he should be interested in getting the resemblance of a person whose mode of attaining some distinction has been very different. But I am sensible, that if there be any good about my poetry or prose either, it is a hurried frankness of composition which pleases soldiers, sailors, and young people of bold and active disposition. I have been no sigher in shades—no writer of

'Songs and sonnets, and rustical roundelays,
Fram'd on fancies, and whistled on reeds[w].'"

With regard to those narratives, the scene of which is laid either on the Continent or in England, on some of them Scott has set his peculiar mark, by making the heroes his own countrymen; as in "Nigel," the "Talisman," and "Quintin Durward;" in all which instances it will perhaps be found that there is a continual awakening of home associations and feelings. And what if we were to add "Woodstock" to this list? since the secret spell of that romance undoubtedly is the perpetual though silent reference to the martyred king, as if mysteriously present. In him, and after him in his family, Scott took peculiar interest, (as is illustrated by many new traits in these volumes,) not simply on principles of chivalrous honour and fidelity, but also because they were altogether Scottishmen, and their cause was bound up with that jealous feeling concerning their country's independence, which he as a Borderer cherished throughout. Witness the delight he took in the success of his pamphlet on the banking system, under the name of Malachi Malagrowther. He really speaks of it in his journal with more satisfaction than is called forth by any of the great triumphs of his genius:—

"Malachi prospers and excites much attention. The Banks have bespoke 500 copies. The country is taking the alarm; and I think the Ministers will not dare to press the measure. *I should rejoice to see the old red lion ramp a little, and the thistle again claim its* NEMO ME IMPUNE. I do believe Scotsmen will shew themselves unanimous, at least where their cash is con-

[w] Vol. vi. p. 321.

cerned. They shall not want backing. I incline to cry with Biron in 'Love's Labour's Lost,' 'More atés, more atés'—stir them on. I suppose all imaginative people feel more or less of excitation from a scene of insurrection or tumult, or of general expression of national feeling. When I was a lad, poor Davie Douglas used to accuse me of being *cupidus novarum rerum*, and to say that I loved the stimulus of a broil. It might be so then and even still. 'Even in our ashes live their wonted fires[x].'"

The only great works of Scott, the chivalry of which has nothing in it to connect them particularly with Scotland, nothing at all of a Border or clannish character, are, we apprehend, "Ivanhoe," and "Kenilworth;" to which, perhaps, we should add "Anne of Geierstein;" though there is almost sufficient analogy between the Swiss and the Scots, through a long period of their history, to take the last-mentioned into the former class: and, magnificent as the other two are, we hope to be pardoned for asking, do they not carry a more elaborate air than is usual with this author—the air of one writing from books, instead of expatiating *sub dio* among places and persons with which he was himself intimate? As we read them, we say to ourselves, This is not only high poetry, but also very learned history, chivalry painted in two of its most interesting aspects; for "Ivanhoe" displays it when it was most real, and filled the whole of public life; "Kenilworth," when it lingered only in the shape of court pageantry, and a code of punctilious honour. But does the thought occur, that the painter is a real enthusiast, living in and for the remembrance of the times which he describes? We imagine not; and our solution of the fact would be, that in these instances the writer has wandered too far out of sight of Scotland and Scottish associations. He had a taste but not a passion for the subjects on which he was writing; whereas his local Border attachments were ingrained into the very substance of his character.

There are many affecting instances in his Italian tour of the manner in which he clung to those early feelings,

[x] Vol. vi. p. 246.

even in the wreck of his health and decay of his mind. We find him, for example, surveying the antiquities of Malta with no small measure of curiosity and interest, treasuring up hints for future romances; and as he passed ruined forts and monasteries, or other feudal remains, in Southern Italy, we hear of his imagining stories to accord with the scene; but his bursts of real emotion and enthusiasm occur only with awakened reminiscences of Scotland.

"Near Nocera," says Sir W. Gell, "I pointed out a tower situated on a high mountain, and guarding a pass by which a very steep and zigzag road leads toward Amalfi. I observed that it was possible, if the Saracens ever were really situated at Nocera dei Pagani, this tower might have been at the confines of the Amalfitan republic, and have been their frontier against the Mahometans. It was surprising how quickly he caught at any romantic circumstance, and I found, in a very short time, he had converted the Torre di Ciunse, or Chiunse, into a feudal residence, and already peopled it with a Christian host. He called it the Knights' Castle, as long as it remained in sight, and soon after transferred its interest to the curious little towers used for pigeon-shooting, which abound in the neighbourhood, though they were on the other side of the road.

"We visited on the following day the splendid Benedictine monastery of La Trinità della Cava, situated about three miles from the great road, and approached through a beautiful forest of chestnuts, spreading over most picturesque mountains. The day was fine, and Sir Walter really enjoyed the drive; and the scenery recalled to his mind something of the kind which he had seen in Scotland; on which he repeated the whole of the ballad of Jock of Hazledean with great emphasis, and in a clear voice. . . . . On the whole, Sir Walter was more pleased with the monastery of La Cava, than with any place to which I had the honour to accompany him in Italy: the site, the woods, the organ, the size of the convent, and above all, the Lombard kings [pictures of whom were in the library], produced a poetical feeling; and the fine weather so raised his spirits, that in the forest he again recited Jock of Hazledean by my desire, after a long repetition from his favourite poem of Hardyknute."[1]

[1] Vol. vii. p. 354.

Again,—

"There is a point in going toward the Arco Felice, whence, at a turn of the road, a very extensive and comprehensive view is obtained of the lake of Avernus. The temple of Apollo, the Lucrine lake, the Monte Nuovo, Baiæ, Misenum, and the sea, are all seen at once; and here I considered it my duty, in quality of Cicerone, to enforce the knowledge of the localities. He attended to the names I repeated; and when I asked whether he thought himself sure of remembering the spot, he replied, that he had it perfectly in his mind. I found, however, that something in the place had inspired him with other recollections of his own beloved country and the Stuarts; for, on proceeding, he immediately repeated, in a grave tone, and with great emphasis,

'Up the craggy mountain, and down the mossy glen,
We canna gang a milking, for Charlie and his men.'

I could not help smiling at this strange commentary on my dissertation upon the lake of Avernus[z]."

No sight in Rome seems to have captivated him so much as the villa which belonged to Cardinal York, and which still retains some pictures and other relics of the Stuarts.

But the most remarkable instance of his deep local affection is contained in the account of his return, almost in a state of insensibility, to the scenery of Tweedside.

"Sir Walter, prostrate in his carriage, was slung on shore, and conveyed from thence to Douglas's hotel, in St. Andrew's Square [Edinburgh], in the same complete apparent unconsciousness. . . . At a very early hour on the morning of Wednesday the 4th [July, 1832], we again placed him in his carriage, and he lay in the same torpid state during the first two stages on the road to Tweedside. But as we descended the vale of the Gala he began to gaze about him, and by degrees it was observed that he was recognising the features of that familiar landscape. Presently he murmured a name or two: 'Gala water, surely;—Buckholm—Torwoodlee.' As we rounded the hill at Ladhope, and the outline of the Eildons burst upon him, he became greatly excited, and when turning himself on the couch

[z] Vol. vii. p. 356.

his eye caught at length his own towers, at the distance of a mile, he sprang up with a cry of delight. The river being in flood, we had to go round a few miles by Melrose Bridge, and during the time this occupied, his woods and house being within prospect, it required occasionally both Dr. Watson's strength and mine, in addition to Nicholson's, to keep him in the carriage. After passing the bridge, the road for a few miles loses sight of Abbotsford, and he relapsed into his stupor; but on gaining the bank immediately above it, his excitement became again ungovernable. Mr. Laidlaw was waiting at the porch, and assisted us in lifting him into the dining-room, where his bed had been prepared. He sat bewildered for a few moments, and then resting his eye on Laidlaw, said 'Ha! Willie Laidlaw! O man, how often have I thought of you!' By this time his dogs had assembled about his chair, they began to fawn upon him and lick his hands, and he alternately sobbed and smiled over them, till sleep oppressed him[a]."

Would it not be true to say, that this passage is but the expression, in sad truth and real life, of the same deep local attachment, which gives tone to the following tender stanzas, occurring among the earliest which Scott ever published? They describe, as will be remembered, the departure of Thomas the Rhymer, when finally summoned from his home by a fairy token.

"The elfin harp, his neck around,
In minstrel guise he hung,
And on the wind, in doleful sound,
Its dying accents rung.

"Then forth he went—yet turn'd him oft
To view his ancient hall;
On the grey tower, in lustre soft,
The autumn moonbeams fall.

"And Leader's waves, like silver sheen,
Danc'd shimmering in the ray;
In deepening mass, at distance seen,
Broad Soltra's mountains lay.

[a] Vol. vii. pp. 385, 386.

"'Farewell, my father's ancient tower,
A long farewell,' said he:
'The scene of pleasure, pomp, and power,
Thou never more shalt be.

"'To Learmont's name no foot of earth
Shall e'er again belong;
And on thy hospitable hearth
The hare shall leave her young.

"'Adieu! adieu!' again he cried,
All as he turn'd him roun',
'Farewell to Leader's silver tide!
Farewell to Ercildoune!'"

As a contrast to these touching sketches, yet not a little illustrative of them, we may take Sir Walter's own account of the process by which he was first set on brooding over the Border legends.

"The local information, which I conceive had some share in forming my future taste and pursuits, I derived from the old songs and tales which then" (when he was first old enough to remember anything) "formed the amusement of a retired country family"—his grandmother's family, to whom he was sent out of Edinburgh to be nursed in his lameness. "My grandmother, in whose youth the old Border depredations were matter of recent tradition, used to tell me many a tale of Wat of Harden, Wight Willie of Aikwood, Jamie Telfer of the Fair Dodhead, and other heroes—merrymen all of the persuasion and calling of Robin Hood and Little John. A more recent hero, but not of less note, was the celebrated *Diel of Little Dean*, whom she well remembered, as he had married her mother's sister. Of this extraordinary person I learned many a story, grave and gay, comic and warlike." "The ballad of Hardyknute I was early master of, to the great annoyance of almost our only visiter, Dr. Duncan, the worthy clergyman of the parish, who had not patience to have a sober chat interrupted by my shouting forth this ditty[b]."

Such hints as these may give an idea how the Border stories were associated in the poet's mind with the scenes

[b] Vol. i. pp. 17—19.

and amusements of his childhood. But on this head, although for a quotation it be somewhat long, we must add the passage which gives Mr. Lockhart's impression of what may be called Scott's early poetical education; for indeed nothing could so strikingly confirm the view above taken of the whole subject.

"He says that his consciousness of existence dated from Sandy-Knowe; and how deep and indelible was the impression which its romantic localities had left on his imagination, I need not remind the readers of 'Marmion' and the 'Eve of St. John.' On the summit of the crags which overhang the farm-house stands the ruined tower of Smailholme, the scene of that fine ballad; and the view from thence takes in a wide expanse of the district in which, as has been truly said, every field has its battle, and every rivulet its song—

'The lady look'd in mournful mood,
Look'd over hill and vale,
O'er Merton's wood, and Tweed's fair flood,
And all down Teviotdale.'

Mertoun, the principal seat of the Harden family, with its noble groves; nearly in front of it, across the Tweed, Lessudden, the comparatively small but still venerable and stately abode of the Lairds of Raeburn; and the hoary Abbey of Dryburgh, surrounded with yew-trees as ancient as itself; seem to lie almost beneath the feet of the spectator. Opposite him rise the purple peaks of Eildon, the traditional scene of Thomas the Rymer's interview with the Queen of Faerie; behind are the blasted peel which the seer of Ercildoun himself inhabited, the 'Broom of the Cowden-Knowes,' the pastoral valley of the Leader, and the bleak wilderness of Lammermoor. To the eastward the desolate grandeur of Hume Castle breaks the horizon, as the eye travels towards the range of the Cheviot. A few miles westward, Melrose, 'like some tall rock with lichens gray,' appears clasped amidst the windings of the Tweed; and the district presents the serrated mountains of the Gala, the Ettrick, and the Yarrow, all famous in song. Such were the objects that had painted the earliest images on the eye of the last and greatest of the Border minstrels.

"As his memory reached to an earlier period of childhood than that of almost any other person, so assuredly no poet has

given to the world a picture of the dawning feelings of life and genius, at once so simple, so beautiful, and so complete, as that of his 'Epistle to William Erskine,' the chief literary confidant and counsellor of his prime of manhood.

* * * * * *

'Thus while I ape the measure wild
Of tales that charm'd me yet a child,
Rude though they be, still with the chime
Return the thoughts of early time.
And feelings rous'd in life's first day
Glow in the line and prompt the lay.
Then rise those crags, that mountain tower,
Which charm'd my fancy's wakening hour.
It was a barren scene and wild,
Where naked cliffs were rudely pil'd;
But ever and anon between
Lay velvet tufts of loveliest green;
And well the lonely infant knew
Recesses where the wall-flower grew,
And honeysuckle lov'd to crawl
Up the low crag and ruin'd wall.
I deem'd such nooks the sweetest shade
The sun in all its rounds survey'd;
And still I thought that shatter'd tower
The mightiest work of human power:
And marvell'd as the aged hind
With some strange tale bewitch'd my mind,
Of forayers who with headlong force
Down from that strength had spurr'd their horse,
Their southern rapine to renew
Far in the distant Cheviots blue,
And home returning fill'd the hall
With revel, wassail rout, and brawl.
Methought that still with trump and clang
The gateway's broken arches rang;
Methought grim features, seam'd with scars,
Glar'd through the windows' rusty bars;
And ever, by the winter hearth,
Old tales I heard of woe and mirth,
Of lovers' slights, of ladies' charms,
Of witches' spells, of warriors' arms,—

Of patriot battles won of old
By Wallace Wight and Bruce the Bold—
Of later fields of feud and fight,
When, pouring from their Highland height,
The Scottish clans, in headlong sway,
Had swept the scarlet ranks away:
When stretch'd at length upon the floor,
Again I fought each combat o'er,
Pebbles and shells, in order laid,
The mimic ranks of war display'd,
And onward still the Scottish Lion bore,
And still the scattered Southron fled before.'"

Will the reader excuse yet a few more sentences? it seems to us that neither the picture nor the argument will be quite so complete without them.

"There are still living in that neighbourhood two old women, who were in the domestic service of Sandy-Knowe, when the lame child was brought thither in the third year of his age. One of them, Tibby Hunter, remembers his coming well, and that he was 'a sweet tempered bairn, a darling with all about the house.' 'The young ewe-milkers delighted,' she says, 'to carry him about upon their backs among the crags;' and he was 'very gleg (quick) at the uptake, and soon kenned every sheep and lamb by headmark as well as any of them.' His great pleasure however was in the society of the 'aged hind' recorded in the epistle to Erskine. 'Auld Sandy Ormistoun,' called, from the most dignified part of his function, 'the cow bailie,' had the chief superintendence of the flocks that browsed upon the 'velvet tufts of loveliest green.' If the child saw him in the morning, he would not be satisfied unless the old man would set him astride on his shoulder, and take him to keep him company as he lay watching his charge.

Here was poetic impulse given
By the green hill and clear blue heaven.

The cow bailie blew a particular note on his whistle, which signified to the maid-servants in the house below when the little boy wished to be carried home again. He told his friend Mr. Skene of Rubislaw, when spending a summer day in his old age among these well-remembered crags, that he delighted to roll about on the grass all day long in the midst of the flock, and that 'the sort of fellowship he thus formed with the sheep and lambs had

impressed his mind with a degree of affectionate feeling towards them which had lasted throughout life.' There is a story of his having been forgotten one day among the knolls, when a thunderstorm came on, and his aunt, suddenly recollecting his situation, and running out to bring him home, is said to have found him lying on his back, clapping his hands at the lightning, and crying out, 'Bonny, bonny!' at every flash [c]. I find the following note in his copy of Allan Ramsay's 'Tea-Table Miscellany:' 'This book belonged to my grandfather, Robert Scott, and out of it I was taught Hardyknute by heart before I could read the ballad myself. It was the first poem I ever learned, the last I shall ever forget [d].'"

To the same period, or but a little after it, Sir Walter himself traces also his seemingly instinctive loyalty to the Stuarts, combined as it appears with as instinctive an hatred of democracy.

"During the heat of the American war, I remember being as anxious on my uncle's weekly visits (for we heard news at no other time) to hear of the defeat of Washington, as if I had some deep and personal cause of antipathy to him. I know not how this was combined with a very strong prejudice in favour of the Stuart family, which I had originally imbibed from the songs and tales of the Jacobites. This latter propensity was deeply confirmed by the stories told in my hearing of the cruelties exercised in the executions at Carlisle, and in the Highlands after the battle of Culloden. One or two of our own distant relations had fallen on the occasion, and I remember detesting the name of Cumberland with more than infant hatred. Mr. Curle, farmer at Yetbyre, husband of one of my aunts, had been present at their execution, and it was probably from him that I first heard these tragic tales which made so great an impression on me [e]."

A few years later he records another stage in his poetical education.

"I then first became acquainted with Bishop Percy's 'Reliques of Ancient English Poetry.' As I had been from infancy devoted

[c] This, it will be remembered, is referred to in the *Lyra Innocentium* ("Disuse of Excommunication.")—Ed.

"So when the storm is rife among the hills,
Roused on his heathery bed the mountain boy
To every flash that through the dim air thrills
Keeps time with eager hands, and screams for joy."]

[d] Vol. i. pp. 79—83. [e] Ibid., p. 17.

to legendary lore of this nature, and only reluctantly withdrew my attention, from the scarcity of materials and the rudeness of those which I possessed, it may be imagined, but cannot be described, with what delight I saw pieces of the same kind which had amused my childhood, and still continued in secret the Delilahs of my imagination, considered as the subject of sober research, grave commentary, and apt illustration, by an editor who shewed that his poetical genius was capable of emulating the best qualities of what his pious labour preserved. I remember well the spot where I read these volumes for the first time. It was beneath a huge platane tree, in the ruins of what had been intended for an old-fashioned arbour in the garden I have mentioned. The summer day sped onward so fast, that notwithstanding the sharp appetite of thirteen, I forgot the hour of dinner, was sought for with anxiety, and was still found entranced in my intellectual banquet. To read and to remember was in this instance the same thing, and henceforth I overwhelmed my schoolfellows, and all who would hearken to me, with tragical recitations from the ballads of Bishop Percy. The first time, too, I could scrape a few shillings together, which were not common occurrences with me, I bought unto myself a copy of these beloved volumes; nor do I believe I ever read a book half so frequently, or with half the enthusiasm.

"To this period also I can trace distinctly the awakening of that delightful feeling for the beauties of natural objects which has never since deserted me. The neighbourhood of Kelso, the most beautiful if not the most romantic village in Scotland, is eminently calculated to awaken these ideas. It presents objects not only grand in themselves but venerable from their association. The meeting of two superb rivers, the Tweed and the Teviot, both renowned in song,—the ruins of an ancient abbey,—the more distant vestiges of Roxburgh Castle,—the modern mansion of Fleurs, which is so situated as to combine the ideas of ancient baronial grandeur with those of modern taste—are in themselves objects of the first class, yet are so mixed, united and melted among a thousand other beauties of a less permanent description, that they harmonize into one general picture, and please rather by unison than by concord. I believe I have written unintelligibly upon this subject, but it is fitter for the pencil than the pen. The romantic feelings which I have described as predominating in my mind naturally rested upon and asso-

ciated themselves with the grand features of the landscape around me, and the historical incidents, or traditional legends, connected with many of them, gave to my admiration a sort of intense impression of reverence, which at times made my heart feel too big for my bosom. From this time the love of natural beauty, more especially when combined with ancient ruins, or remains of our fathers' piety or splendour, became with me an insatiable passion, which, if circumstances had permitted, I would willingly have gratified by travelling over half the globe [f]."

These statements, surely, are more than sufficient to strengthen and account for the impression which his writings would create: that his love of chivalrous and legendary lore was originally and essentially *local:* he clung to it as to the feeling of his childhood, and it was inseparably connected in his mind with the love of scenery and of home, and with the sense of loyalty. His romance is not like Homer's, rejoicing in the description of things as he found them, only investing them with a sort of supernatural light: nor like Tasso's, told with solemnity and reverence, as though in fulfilment of a religious vow: nor like Spenser's, the form and garb merely in which the poet clothed his visions of an ideal world, and longings for supernatural perfection. The nearest resemblance, perhaps, is that which Bishop Heber long ago observed and illustrated, viz., between Scott and Pindar: for Pindar also had to go back some ages for his story; he also generally began to work on a ground of real scenery and traditionary genealogy. But the charm derived from association with his own boyhood seems in a great measure peculiar to Scott, and throws around all his performances an atmosphere and colouring of simplicity, short only of that which would have resulted from actual truth.

We were next to specify certain occasions in Scott's life, critically adapted to check yet foster this his longing after legendary lore, till it was just fit, according to our theory, to pour itself out in true poetry. His early lameness, occurring before he could remember anything, was

[f] Vol. i. pp. 38—40.

the very thing, one should have expected, to interfere with his out-door propensities. But it led to his being sent to Sandy Knowe, at such a moment of his life, that the first sounds he could afterwards well remember were the scraps of Border ballads he was entertained with; and the first sights were the rocks, ruins, hills, and waters of the Tweed and Teviot. We can also imagine his regarding horses, dogs, and other such accompaniments of the woodland life, with other and more poetical thoughts than would have been natural to him, had he been free to move about like other boys. They would seem to him more like playmates and companions, less like mere instruments of amusement and excitation, in which latter and more vulgar light they are apt to be considered by ordinary sportsmen: a class to which it is probable that Scott would have approached nearer by many degrees, had he enjoyed to the full his natural robust activity. As it was, all his pursuits in that kind were in a manner ennobled by a sense of difficulty overcome, which caused them also to present in his case a truer and more adequate image of that feudal warfare, to which he ever delighted to recur. One of the most characteristic traits in his management of a story, and one which few, we imagine, can have failed to observe, is the manner in which he introduces his dogs, making them really a part of the *dramatis personæ*, and almost endowing them with human qualities—as in the "Talisman," and in the "Lady of the Lake." He notices himself, as will have been seen, the "sort of fellowship which he early formed with the lambs and sheep."

We cannot quit this topic of his lameness without adverting to a contrast between him and his contemporary (and as some think his rival) Lord Byron, brought out by this seemingly unimportant circumstance. Lord Byron's infirmity, instead of stimulating him as Scott's did to generous exertion, seems to have been felt by him as a continual incentive to spleen—a thorn in the side of that inordinate vanity, which apparently was always the ruling passion of that unfortunate person. An instance of it is incidentally mentioned in these volumes.

"Will Rose told me that once, while sitting with Byron, he fixed insensibly his eyes on his feet, one of which, it must be remembered, was deformed. Looking up suddenly he saw Byron regarding him with a look of concentrated and deep displeasure, which wore off when he observed no consciousness or embarrassment in the countenance of Rose[g]."

Such things may seem too trifling to dwell upon; but men must have watched themselves and others to little purpose, if they have not found that these are the very points on which, if one had the skill to seize them, a whole character often turns. Nor is this the only instance in which, evidently without intention on the part of the biographer, the minds and tempers of the two poets come into contrast with each other, to the great disadvantage of Lord Byron, and in a way to give effectual warning against some of the greatest perils to which the poetical temperament is liable.

The *profession* of Sir Walter Scott is another critical circumstance, which might seem at first sight to withdraw him from the region of romance, but which on enquiry we may find to have combined only just that mixture of restraint and indulgence which best forwards the development of the poetical faculty. On this point again we willingly strengthen ourselves by the decided opinion of Mr. Lockhart. After reciting the entry of Scott's apprenticeship from the minutes of the Society of Writers to the signet, he remarks,—

"An inauspicious step this might at first sight appear in the early history of one so strongly predisposed for pursuits wide as the antipodes asunder from the dry technicalities of conveyancing; but he himself, I believe, was never heard in his mature age to express any regret that it should have been taken; and I am convinced for my part, that it was a fortunate one. It prevented him, indeed, from passing with the usual regularity through a long course of Scotch metaphysics; but I extremely doubt whether any discipline would have led him to derive either pleasure or profit from studies of that order. His apprenticeship

[g] Vol. vi. p. 131.

left him time enough, as we shall find, for continuing his application to the stores of poetry and romance, and those old chroniclers, who to the end were his darling historians. Indeed, if he had wanted any new stimulus, the necessity of devoting certain hours every day to a routine of drudgery, however it might have operated on a spirit ever prone to earth, must have tended to quicken his appetite for the sweet bread eaten in secret. But the duties which he had now to fulfil were in various ways directly and positively beneficial to the full development of his genius and his character. It was in the discharge of his functions as a writer's apprentice that he first penetrated into the Highlands, and formed those friendships among the surviving heroes of 1745, which laid the foundation for one great class of his works. Even the less attractive parts of his new avocation were calculated to give him a more complete insight into the smaller workings of poor human nature than can ever be gained from the experience of the legal profession in its higher walk: the etiquette of the bar in Scotland, as in England, being averse to personal intercourse between the advocate and his client. But finally, and I will say chiefly, it was to this prosaic discipline that he owed those habits of steady, sober diligence, which few imaginative authors had ever before exemplified; and which, unless thus beaten into his composition at a ductile stage, even he, in all probability, could never have carried into the almost professional exercise of some of the highest and most delicate faculties of the human mind[h]."

It might perhaps not irrelevantly be added, that his legal pursuits afforded greater facilities than almost any other profession could have done for antiquarian research, the connection of which with romantic poetry has already been touched on, and is too obvious to need much further explanation. In truth, it is the same feeding of fancy on the days gone by, whether a man try to recall them by brooding over their visible and tangible fragments, or by setting down the thoughts they suggest in metrical language. The peculiar sympathy with which Scott evidently regarded such characters (e.g.) as his own Antiquary, is generally, we suppose, felt to be quite in keeping with his

[h] Vol. i. pp. 132, 133.

proper office and character, as last of the minstrels. It seems as though, if he had not been Walter Scott, he would very contentedly have been Jonathan Oldbuck. The connection of the two pursuits is apparent in other romantic poets, as Warton and Gray, and, if we mistake not, in Spenser also, and in Virgil. Witness the delight which the former evidently takes in reciting the substance of the old Chronicles, in identifying places, and accounting for their names by genealogical and local tradition. Witness again on Virgil's part, that most engaging episode of Evander, and the thousand legendary allusions, mixed up with rural description and precept throughout the Georgics. The stories, indeed, and relics, which formed the framework of the heroic poetry of Greece and Rome—what were they but so many points of antiquarian research, cherishing and developing in its way a certain imaginative longing for the heroic age, no less effectually than did the strains of Ennius, of Pindar, or of Homer himself? Nor do we perceive any reason why the antiquarian pursuits, which at all times so earnestly engage the attention of not a few, both in town and country, should not be referred to the same head, of silent and instinctive poetry. If one were to name the classes of persons most apt to be captivated by those pursuits, and among whom are to be found the most eminent examples of success in them, they would probably be these two: clergymen, of our own or of the Romish persuasion, each in their way fondly hanging over the real or supposed fragments of better times: and lawyers, seizing all opportunities of ideal escape into those feudal ages, to which their professional inquiries are ever bringing them near. Thus much to confirm Mr. Lockhart's remark, that Scott's profession, contrary to first thoughts, may have proved a material aid in the development of his poetical character.

The tendency in the same direction of one part of his domestic history, is too obvious to need more than just mentioning in this place: it has been distinctly owned to by himself in his exquisite lines at the end of the "Lady of the Lake:"—

"Much have I ow'd thy strains in life's long way,
Through secret griefs the world has never known,
When on the weary night dawn'd wearier day,
And bitterer was the grief devour'd alone:—
That I o'er-live such woes, Enchantress, is thine own."

The anxieties here alluded to seem to have accompanied him just far enough to interest his mind, so as nothing else could have done it, in the tales and scenery of the Highlands, and then to have left him free to fall back on the ever-fresh recollections of his childhood, and the studies associated therewith; nor is it easy to conceive adequately the peculiar charm which those studies and recollections must have acquired in his mind, when he had so proved their healing and soothing power. Certain it is, that with all his cheerfulness of heart, and his many projects, he may be said ever after that time to have lived more by memory than by hope. Romance, we should say, was thenceforth his real *passion*, though his *affections* were deeply and abundantly exercised.

On the whole, the three turning-points in Sir Walter Scott's personal history, his lameness, his profession as a lawyer, and the disappointment just referred to;—all of which might seem, in different ways, to tend to interrupt the education which circumstances were giving him as the poet of Border Romance; the first, as an obstacle to his collecting materials; the two last, as withdrawing him to other subjects:—all of them are found in effect to have aided in perfecting him for his task.

It were easy to add other circumstances, more obviously of the same tendency: such as his not having travelled. The state of the continent during almost the whole prime of his life, prevented his obeying an instinct which he acknowledges was peculiarly strong in him. Lord Byron, in a too characteristical letter, quoted by Mr. Lockhart, sneers at Scott for not being a travelled man. But surely in the extract just referred to, in which Scott expatiates so affectionately on the scenery about Kelso, the landscape which first attracted him *as* scenery, we may discern one inestimable advantage, which the very con-

finement gave to his imaginative energies. Concentrated as they were on one class of objects, they acquired in perfection the art of associating therewith whatever else came before the writer's mind. The print they first took continued throughout fresh and true, to a degree which could not have been expected, had he plunged into totally new scenes at that period of his life.

Another privation which he repeatedly laments was his total want of Greek literature: and yet it may be doubted whether this also were not in the main a fortunate circumstance, in that it tended to keep his style entirely, exclusively and unaffectedly *romantic*, in the sense in which that word is used by way of opposition to the word *classical*. Had he been familiar with the Greek models, it can hardly be but he must have lost something of the frank military artlessness, which, as we have seen, he himself perceived to be the chief charm of his composition. Who would wish the architect of Canterbury Cathedral to have been deeply versed in the proportions of the four regular orders of Greece?

Such being the instinctive art of this rare genius, that he laid hold of things which seemed at the time most adverse to his chance of success, and turned them into profitable materials and helps of one kind or another; it is no wonder, though not a little amusing and interesting to observe, how he dealt with the several affairs, both of life and literature, as they arose: how easily they were all made to put on the hue of the writer's own mind. His field-sports and love of animals, throughout life a feature of his character, and outlasting almost the conscious faculties of his understanding; his eager Toryism at all times, and his peculiar enthusiasm in the yeomanry service during the alarm of the first French war; his mode of life in the flourishing time of his fortunes; his baronial hospitality, all but indiscriminate; his mode of interesting rich and poor mutually in each other's sports; his planting and felling often with his own hand, thereby making for himself and enjoying the sort of mystery which belongs to woodland scenery; perhaps, too, his uncompromising

way of devoting himself for his duty's sake, when he once knew the amount of his pecuniary difficulties; and certainly, and not least, his joining the Church, although bred up in the Kirk, (for it is not in human nature that he should not have been more or less influenced by the association of Church principles with the scenes and parties to which he was so deeply attached:)—all these in their several lines may be considered as so many accommodations, or extensions, of his darling chivalrous taste, to subjects beyond its proper sphere, yet bearing an analogy more or less direct to some part of those with which it was originally conversant. The peculiar charm of all was his entire simplicity. He went through the greater part of his youth with little or no suspicion that his poetical talent was anything beyond a very common standard. This caused him, with all his love of the Border ballads, to refrain from any imitation of them until 1796, when he was near five-and-twenty. He himself distinctly states, that "he made no attempts in the manner of the old minstrels, great as his admiration for them had been, until the period of his acquaintance with Bürger[1]," whose ballad of Lenore he translated, and on much encouragement published, in the year just mentioned. But from first to last he never seems to have written, spoken, or lived, in any sort of consciousness that he was unlike other men. He was a boy in many respects later in life than most men; and his boyish instincts, the best of them, never forsook him. It was the hardest thing in the world for the admiring "public" to "din it" into him, that something out of the common was always expected from him; and when he did find it out, the discovery seems to have brought far from unmixed gratification: indeed the annoyance he continually felt from that which is the very food of so many authors' vanity, seems to have had no small share in urging him to conceal his authorship of the prose romances. Speaking of the like reserve in the case of the "Bridal of Triermain"—

"The truth is," he said, "that this sort of muddling work amuses me, and I am something in the condition of Joseph

[1] Vol. i. p. 136.

Surface, who was embarrassed by getting himself too good a reputation: for many things may please people well enough anonymously, which, if they have me in the title-page, would give me that sort of ill-name which precedes hanging."

A little afterwards,—

"I shall *not* own 'Waverley;' my chief reason is, that it would prevent me of the pleasure of writing again. . . . In point of emolument, everybody knows that I sacrifice much money by withholding my name, and what should I gain by it, that any human being has a right to consider as an unfair advantage? In fact, only the freedom of writing trifles with less personal responsibility, and perhaps more frequently than I otherwise might do[j]."

"His object," Mr. Lockhart says, "was above all, to escape the annoyance of having productions, actually known to be his, made the daily and hourly topics of discussion in his presence[k]."

As a different exhibition of the same rare simplicity, we would cite the passages which record his opinion of the Duke of Wellington. When he returned from Paris in 1815, James Ballantyne begged to be informed what was the general impression on his mind. He answered, that—

"he might now say he had seen and conversed with all classes of society, from the palace to the cottage, and including every conceivable shade of science and ignorance, but that he had never felt awed or abashed, except in the presence of one man, the Duke of Wellington."

"I expressed some surprise. He said, 'I ought not, for the Duke of Wellington possessed every one mighty quality of the mind in a higher degree than any other man did or had ever done.' He said, he beheld in him a great soldier and a great statesman—the greatest of each. When it was said, that the Duke on his part saw before him a great poet and novelist, he smiled, and said, 'What would the Duke of Wellington think of a few bits of novels, which perhaps he had never read, and for which the strong probability is that he would not care sixpence if he had[l].'"

[j] Vol. iii. pp. 131, 133. [k] Ibid., p. 302. [l] Ibid., p. 375.

Mr. Lockhart here remarks,—

"I need hardly repeat, what has been already distinctly stated more than once, that Scott never considered any amount of literary distinction as entitled to be spoken of in the same breath with mastery in the higher departments of practical life: least of all with the glory of a first-rate captain. To have done things worthy to be written was in his eyes a dignity to which no man made any approach, who had only written things worthy to be read. He on two occasions, which I can never forget, betrayed painful uneasiness when his works were alluded to as reflecting honour on the age that had produced Watt's improvement of the steam-engine, and the safety-lamp of Sir H. Davy. Such was his modest creed."

The distinguished poets, we suspect, are not many, of whom it might truly be said that they looked on it as a much greater matter to *do poetical things*, than to record them in good verses. Perhaps it might be found that the sentiment was an indication of something primary and original in the poetry of the mind which adopted it.

In truth, it seems to us, that to the complete developement of this part of Scott's character, his single-minded frankness and noble simplicity, the volumes before us owe their main attraction; and a most potent one it is. Before this publication, those who knew nothing of the man might be led to wish and hope from his writings that such was his cast of character, but they could hardly venture to be very sanguine about it; partly on account of the known duplicity of authors, and partly from certain anomalous appearances, to which we shall presently advert more particularly, in the style and conduct of the narratives themselves. But the "Life" puts an end at once to all questionings of the kind. There is throughout a transparency of character, which, if you could bring yourself to suspect, you might next begin finding out plots and intrigues in the careless jollity of a schoolboy. We are thus left free to the full and delightful admiration of the other noble and ingenuous qualities which naturally accompany this open frankness of mind, and which are as discernible as his energy and genius in every part of his correspondence. We have

spoken of the unaffected modesty, which caused him to go on so long in ignorance of his own poetical powers. He was twenty-eight, by his own account, before he made any serious attempt in verse. This modesty, joined to his habitual kindness, made him the most indulgent of readers and of critics; he always attributing to the writer himself the bright thoughts which struck him on perusal. Of this a remarkable instance occurs in the anecdote about the origin of the Minstrelsy [m]:—

"James Ballantyne called on him one morning and begged him to supply a few paragraphs on some legal question of the day for his newspaper. Scott complied, and carrying his article himself to the printing-office, took with him also some of his recent pieces, designed to appear in Lewis's collection. With them, especially, as his memorandum says, the 'Morlachian fragment after Goethe,' Ballantyne was charmed: and he expressed his regret that Lewis's book was so long in appearing. Scott talked of Lewis with rapture; and after reciting some of his stanzas, said, 'I ought to apologize to you for having troubled you with anything of my own when I had things like this for your ear.' 'I felt at once,' says Ballantyne, 'that his own verses were far above what Lewis could ever do; and though, when I said this, he dissented, yet he seemed pleased with the warmth of my approbation.' At parting, Scott threw out a casual observation, that he wondered his old friend did not try to get some little booksellers' work, to keep his types in play during the rest of the week. Ballantyne answered, that such an idea had not before occurred to him; that he had no acquaintance with the Edinburgh 'trade,' but if he had, his types were good, and he thought he could afford to work more cheaply than town printers. Scott, with his good-humoured smile, said, 'you had better try what you can do. You have been praising my little ballads, suppose you print a dozen copies or so, or as many as will make a pamphlet, sufficient to let my Edinburgh acquaintances judge of your skill for themselves.' Ballantyne assented; and I believe exactly twelve copies of 'William and Ellen,' the 'Fire-King,' the 'Chase,' and a few more of these pieces, were thrown off accordingly. . . . This first specimen of a press, afterwards so celebrated, pleased Scott; and he said to Ballantyne,

[m] Vol. i. pp. 316, 317.

'I have been for years collecting old Border ballads, and I think I could with little trouble put together such a selection as might make a neat little volume to sell for four or five shillings. I will talk to some of the booksellers about it when I get to Edinburgh; and if the thing goes on you shall be the printer.' Ballantyne highly relished the proposal, and the result of this little experiment changed wholly the course of his worldly fortunes, as well as of his friend's."

The above is but one among innumerable traits in these volumes which fully justify the "summing up" of the biographer on this head.

"The ease with which he did everything deceived him; and he probably would never have done himself any measure of justice, even as compared with those of his own time, but for the fact, which no modesty could long veil, that whatever he did became immediately '*the fashion*'—the object of all but universal imitation. Even as to this he was often ready to surmise that the priority of his own movement might have been matter of accident; and certainly nothing can mark the humility of his mind more strikingly than the style in which he discusses, in his Diary, the pretensions of the pigmies that swarmed and fretted in the deep wake of his mighty vessel. . . . . His propensity to think too well of other men's works sprung of course mainly from his modesty and good nature; but the brilliancy of his imagination greatly sustained the delusion. It unconsciously gave precision to the trembling outline, and a life and warmth to the vapid colours before him. This was especially the case as to romances and novels; the scenes and characters in them were invested with so much of the 'light within,' that he would close with regret volumes which perhaps no other person except the diseased glutton of the circulating library, ever could get half through. When colder critics saw only a schoolboy's hollowed turnip with its inch of tallow, he looked through the dazzling spray of his own fancy, and sometimes the clumsy toy seems to have swelled almost into the majesty of buried Denmark[a]."

It was part and parcel of the same modesty that he always undervalued literary fame, as before mentioned, in comparison with eminence attained in more active life.

[a] Vol. vii. p. 416.

And herein, as in other his maturer opinions, it is curious to trace the temper which caused him, when a boy at Edinburgh High School, to direct his chief efforts towards overcoming the disadvantages of his lameness out of doors, and so on the whole to make "a brighter figure in the yards than in the class."

And thus it is throughout. With that key to his character, which the memoirs of his childhood supply, we are able to account for almost all the great features both of his writings and his life. Nowhere, probably, in biography can be found a completer illustration of Wordsworth's sentiment, "The child is father to the man."

Even those particulars which disclose something more or less to be regretted, either in his sentiments or his habits, generally have in them something akin to his romantic and poetical temperament. Occasionally we find him swearing: there is one letter, indeed, so recklessly profane in that respect, that one wonders how it got inserted in the "Life:" if any sufficient justification exist, surely it should be stated; as it is, the page alluded to is simply shocking. However, even this most lamentable defect is so far to our purpose, as it clearly indicates a mind overcome with some violent but restrained feeling, and seeking a vent for it anyhow: the very condition, as we speculate, of poetical composition. For without question it is relief in excitement, relief by venting one's self, which tempts men to swear in the first instance, before the crime have become habitual. It can hardly be necessary to add, that this is no more an excuse for that hateful custom, than any other temptation for the sin which it prompts.

The very questionable morality again, of his various disquisitions and narratives about *duelling*, and his own determination, in his old age, to have answered a challenge, if it had come, on a certain occasion, are results probably of devotion, in this respect idolatrous, to the chivalrous and romantic school of honour. We may well believe, that both in these matters, and in the occasional countenance which he gives to intemperance in drinking, he

was, half-unconsciously perhaps, but really, seduced in part by the known practices of his favourite clannish times. Nay, and those parts, even of his life and writings, which would seem most irreconcilable with genuine poetical enthusiasm, are in some measure traceable, without undue refinement, to the same master-passion,—the love of what pleased him when a boy. He did not, indeed, affect to be superior to the love of fame, wealth, and success; but as motives to writing, it is evident they were with him but secondary. And we have seen how in after years his too eager engaging in great schemes of the kind was due, his biographer being judge, to a romantic wish of realizing in himself a sort of feudal or baronial life. This being supposed, will help us to explain the reserve, in other respects so alien to his temper, which he practised towards many even of his intimate friends, in regard both of his commercial engagements and of the authorship of the novels. Men are always more or less reserved in what concerns their ruling passion. Conscious to themselves that the degree of sympathy they will meet with from others is very limited, and afraid of exposing to some sort of rudeness what they seriously prize or revere, they instinctively contrive all sorts of shading, to withdraw ordinary eyes from their real subject. The more they retain of the imaginative playfulness of children, the apter are they to indulge in this kind of half-sportive mysteriousness. We cannot but think that this consideration, added to what we before adduced, will go far to explain the secrecy, unaccountable to many, which Scott affected so long to keep up concerning the parentage of "Waverley" and the rest of that family. The poetical mind must have its veil, its mode of reserve after its own fashion: and this was the particular fashion to which Scott's temperament, boyish to the last, inclined him. Again, if Mr. Lockhart is right in imagining that his commercial speculations were mainly prompted by the visionary hope above mentioned, though but half-acknowledged to himself, he would feel the same temptation to conceal them, which all sane minds experience in matters wherein their con-

science tells them they are obeying imagination rather than reason.

But how shall we explain the apparent *liberalism* of many of his discussions and reflections, so opposite to the youthful and chivalrous tone which we have assumed to be his only natural one? E.g. no one surely who surrenders himself to Scott's influence can avoid feeling as a partisan of the Stuarts; yet he has solemnly declared himself more than once abstractedly in favour of "the glorious revolution." *Ex cathedra*, he instructs young people to admire those proceedings, which to the end of his life he considered so invalid, as to prejudice the right of the House of Brunswick to the throne, until the death of the Cardinal of York. In like manner, much of what he says of the liberty of the press, of the rights of the people, of indifference as to religious systems—is clearly at variance with his impulses on those subjects, as they betray themselves in the more dramatic parts of his writings. Again, we may compare his early horror of Bonaparte, for which Mr. Lockhart has thought necessary to apologise as a weakness, with the bland tone and citizen-like candour which he occasionally assumes in the life of that least of great men, and for which perhaps others, at least as reasonably, may think some apology necessary. Scott himself, on one occasion, declined writing the life of Queen Mary, because, he said, his feelings on that part of history were so much at war with his convictions; and this being so, the question arises, what was the real ground and amount of those convictions? We shall probably have to fall back in reply on some such statement as this:—that while the modern utilitarian and republican views, the views of 1688, were taught him regularly, as to most young people of his time, he was in his own irregular self-education imbibing tacitly far more potent draughts of severer and more obsolete principles, which continued all his life to sway him in secret, though from his natural modesty, his sense of his own imperfect training, and mistrust of his reasoning powers, (it is upon record that he particularly disliked all sorts of argument in conversation,)

—he never got so far as to embody those principles in a distinct mental statement, much less to inculcate them on others. He continued, therefore, on the abstract points to take as a matter of course the tone which he had received by inheritance, or by intercourse with those who (he supposed) knew better than himself; while in all matters of detail and feeling he was a thorough cavalier, perhaps what would now be called a bigot. In his imaginative works this apparent inconsistency may be numbered among the half-involuntary artifices by which, according to the instinct of all poets properly so called, he withdraws from the view of those, who will not sympathize, himself and his own depth of interest in his subject. In this point of view his occasional professions of liberalism give somewhat of the same kind of zest to his Tory career, as old sportsmen find in the declarations which we sometimes hear from them, that "they have given up hunting, but their horse would not be controuled whenever they fell in with the hounds in their quiet rides."

If now we have been at all correct in our estimate of Scott's poetical character, and have truly connected it with his history as a man and as a boy, it surely adds no mean confirmation to the idea that poetry may be a provision of nature, for the relief of overcharged minds by indirect expression. The facts of the case, substantiated as they are, furnish to the theory what surveyors, we believe, call a *base of verification;* the line ascertained by actual admeasurement coinciding very nearly with that which calculation would lead us to construct. There is a ruling passion—the love of Border chivalry—distinctly traceable through every variety both of subject and form of composition; there is an instinctive power and habit of turning everything to the purposes of that passion; there is, thirdly, an instinct no less discernible, prompting him unconsciously with different artifices, to veil the taste which engrossed him from those who would not sympathize with or respect it.

Whatever opinion then we might form of some other

great names, according to this idea of the art, Scott at least must be set down as a Primary Poet in every sense of the word. Every year proves more decidedly that his popularity was not of the flighty and ephemeral kind; that the instinctive comparisons with Homer, and Pindar, and Shakespeare, which used to occur to his admirers in their first enthusiasm, had a groundwork in truth and reason. We should not have thought it needful, perhaps, gravely to enunciate such a mere truism, but for the sake of certain prophecies which were uttered in the first days of his first reputation as a poet, and which Mr. Lockhart, like a skilful artist, has here brought into vivid contrast with the event. It seems that on the first publication of "Marmion" the following oracle was solemnly uttered, *ex adyto*:—

"Though we think this last romance of Mr. Scott's about as good as the former, and allow that it affords great indications of poetical talent, we must remind our readers that we never entertained much partiality for this sort of composition, and ventured on a former occasion to express our regret that an author endowed with such talents should consume them *in imitations of obsolete extravagance*, and in the representation of manners and sentiments in which *none of his readers can be supposed to take much interest*, except the few who can judge of their exactness. *To write a modern romance of chivalry seems to be much such a fantasy as to build a modern abbey, or an English pagoda.* For once, however, it may be excused as a pretty caprice of genius; but a second production of the same sort is entitled to less indulgence, and imposes a sort of duty *to drive the author from so idle a task*, by a fair exposition of the faults which are in a manner inseparable from its execution. His genius, seconded by the omnipotence of fashion, has brought chivalry again into *temporary favour*. Fine ladies and gentlemen now talk indeed of donjons, keeps, tabards, scutcheons, tressures, caps of maintenance, portcullises, wimples, and we know not what besides: just as they did in the days of Dr. Darwin's popularity, of gnomes, sylphs, oxygen, gossamer, polygynia and polyandria. That fashion, however, passed rapidly away, and Mr. Scott should take care that a different sort of pedantry does not produce the same effects[o]."

[o] Vol. ii. p. 147, from "Edinb. Review" for April, 1808.

And by way of justifying these anticipations, he was accused of having "*throughout neglected Scottish feeling and Scottish characters.*" Truly these literary auguries were a fair match for the political ones which at the same time abounded in the same quarter; and it is instructive, and in some respects consolatory, to think that both failed through an under-estimate of the relics of virtuous feeling, of loyalty and simplicity, in this day of selfish calculation and swaggering intellect. But the political augury, as things then looked, was less discreditable than the critical one to the soothsayer's sagacity.

For the actual result: it is not, perhaps, too much to say, that never did any single writer exert a greater influence on his age. It was no slight benefit, the substitution of his manly realities, both in prose and verse, for the flimsy enervating literature, which, with few exceptions, peopled at that time the shelves of those who read chiefly for amusement. In verse, indeed, he had noble coadjutors towards this most desirable effect, but the reformation of the novel was exclusively his own work; so far at least as that kind of composition comes under the head of poetry, to which title Miss Edgeworth's Tales, whatever their general merit, can hardly be supposed to lay claim.

But it was far more than an improvement in such things, for which this generation is indebted to him. Whatever of good feeling and salutary prejudice exists in favour of ancient institutions, and in particular the sort of rally which this kingdom has witnessed during the last three years, not to say the continuance of the struggle at all through the storm of the preceding—is it not in good measure attributable to the chivalrous tone which his writings have diffused over the studies and tastes of those who are now in the prime of manhood? His rod, like that of a beneficent enchanter, has touched and guarded hundreds, both men and women, who would else have been *reforming* enthusiasts. Considering the cold supercilious tone of our age, and the great temptations to utilitarian views, we doubt whether a more remarkable instance ever occurred of the reasonableness of the acute saying, "Give

me the making of the ballads of a country, and I will give you the making of its laws." Whether the impulse he has given prevail or no, surely to his writings, humanly speaking, we are mainly indebted for a comparative pause in the career of change on which we had entered: for any opportunity which may now seem to be afforded us, of surveying and strengthening the bulwarks which yet remain. His biographer has designated him as the "Minstrel of the Anti-Gallican war," and future historians will probably see cause to record his name as that of one timely raised up to educate the youth of England for a crisis like the present. Let us hope that as his poetry has already, in a good degree, superseded the hard misanthropy of Lord Byron, to whom, in his excess of modesty, he used to defer, so the high chivalrous feeling, which he has communicated, may prove a constant glow, not a temporary blaze. It will be much, if it only train some few to a noble and self-denying resistance, when the time shall come for treason and irreligion to throw off the mask which they wear with so ill a grace, and for dry, calculating *conservative* compromise, to retire from what will then be a field of suffering.

But here comes in, we will not say a curious, but a deeply interesting and almost an awful question. What, if these generous feelings had been allowed to ripen into that of which undoubtedly they are the germ and rudiment? What, if this gifted writer had become the Poet of the Church, in as eminent a sense as he was the poet of Border and Highland chivalry? Such a speculation we trust will be found neither irrelevant nor invidious. It is not forced, nor irrelevant, for it comes spontaneously, we will venture to say, into the minds of most readers at all imbued with Catholic principles. While such contemplate Scott's character, whether as recorded in his life or displayed in his writings, the feeling which continually suggests itself is, *cum talis sis, utinam noster esses!* What pity that these good and generous impulses, this energy of self-denial, had not the advantage of being hallowed by devotion to the cause most congenial, the only cause entirely worthy of them! We feel that this one thing, the presence of high Catholic views of religion, is just the

thing needed to elevate indefinitely the many noble parts of Scott's ἦθος, and to correct the comparatively few points which one would wish quite otherwise.

We will illustrate our meaning: but first, we would deprecate any suspicion of invidious remark on this delicate part of our subject. It cannot be unfair or invidious to point out what we consider defects in the system under which a great writer was brought up, while, at the same time, we acknowledge that he, by mere good sense and good instinct, improved greatly on that system, and attained a point in advance of his own education. While, for the truth's sake, we wish it to be observed how he might have been more perfect, we admire him personally much more for the progress he did make, than we blame him for still falling short of the highest reverential feeling in an irreverent age. For in truth, Sir Walter Scott's position, in respect of religious truth and duty, was a very disadvantageous one in many respects. His instincts we know early revolted from the strict Calvinism of his father's family; and well it was that he did not contract, as the other great poet of Scotland seems to have done from the same cause, an aversion to all external religion, associated as it came to him with the presumptuous unnatural formulæ of John Knox. He has himself recorded the disgust which he felt at the cold silent funerals of the kirk; and one of his early letters incidentally expresses the like feeling with regard to another part of Presbyterian discipline[p]. The danger was of course great, under the actual circumstances of Edinburgh society, that a youth so active in mind, with so few able to appreciate or controul him, would break loose from all religious restraint, if not into actual infidelity. It seems as if his deep domestic affections, rather than any peculiar wisdom exercised or influence acquired on the part of those to whom he was intrusted, had been under Providence the instrument of his preservation. He carried about with him in those days family remembrances, as after his death he was found to have accumulated round him family relics.

[p] Vol. i. p. 223.

"Perhaps the most touching evidence of the lasting tenderness of his early domestic feelings was exhibited to his executors, when they opened his repositories in search of his testament, the evening after his burial. On lifting up his desk, we found arranged in careful order a series of little objects, which had obviously been so placed there that his eye might rest on them every morning before he began his tasks. These were the old-fashioned boxes that had garnished his mother's toilette, when he, a sickly child, slept in her dressing-room: the silver taper-stand which the young advocate had bought her with his first five-guinea fee: a row of small packets inscribed with her hand, and containing the hair of those of her offspring that had died before her; his father's snuff-box, and etui-case; and more things of the like sort, recalling 'the old familiar faces.' The same feeling was apparent in all the arrangement of his private apartment. Pictures of his father and mother were the only ones in his dressing-room. The clumsy antique cabinets that stood there, things of a very different class from the beautiful and costly productions in the public rooms below, had all belonged to the furniture of George's-square. Even his father's rickety washing-stand, with all its cramped appurtenances, though exceedingly unlike what a man of his very scrupulous habits would have selected in these days, kept its ground. The whole place seemed fitted up like a little chapel of the *Lares*[q]."

Never, surely, was so ardent an imagination better ballasted by a constant and faithful heart. The result as to his religion is summed up in the following sentences:—

"Sir Walter received a strictly religious education under the eye of parents, whose virtuous conduct was in unison with the principles they desired to instil into their children. From the great doctrines thus recommended he appears never to have swerved, but he must be numbered among the many who have incurred considerable risk of doing so, in consequence of the rigidity with which Presbyterian heads of families in Scotland were used to enforce compliance with various relics of the puritanical observance. He took up, early in life, a repugnance to the mode in which public worship is administered in the Scottish establishment, and adhered to the sister Church, whose system of government and discipline he believed to be the

[q] Vol. vii. p. 411.

fairest copy of the primitive polity, and whose litanies and collects he reverenced as having been transmitted to us from the age immediately succeeding that of the Apostles. The few passages in his Diaries, in which he alludes to his own religious feelings and practice, shew clearly the sober, serene, and elevated frame of mind in which he habitually contemplated man's relations with his Maker; the modesty with which he shrunk from indulging either the presumption of reason, or the extravagance of imagination, in the province of faith; his humble reliance on the wisdom and mercy of God, and his firm belief that we are placed in this state of existence, not to speculate about another, but to prepare ourselves for it by active exertion of our intellectual faculties, and the constant cultivation of kindness and benevolence towards our fellow-men[r]."

There is a sound of something like rationalism about this last sentence, and an apparent disavowal of devotion properly so called, little intended, we dare say, by the biographer, and certainly unwarranted, as far as we know, as an expression of Sir Walter Scott's opinions. But with that exception the statement is amply borne out by the notices of feeling and thought on sacred subjects, which are scattered up and down his publications, diary, and letters. Whatever of that kind has dropt from him has this peculiar value, that we are quite sure it was perfectly *undesigned;* it is the oozing out, so to speak, of a full heart; unlike the religious phraseology of many journals, the sincerity whereof there is no cause to question, but it cannot be called *undesigned*, since it is evidently adopted as a matter of duty. The natural deduction in the case before us is, that the few entries which do occur of a religious or devotional kind are infinitely scanty as indications of the degree in which his thoughts were that way exercised. We have observed in particular one entry which demonstrates (if any were inclined to doubt) his habit of regular private devotion. Speaking of a fluttering of the heart, to which he was subject, he says,—

"It is an awful sensation, and would have made an enthusiast of me, had I indulged my imagination on devotional subjects.

[r] Vol. vii. p. 413.

I have been always careful to place my mind in the most tranquil posture, which it can assume during my private exercises of devotion[8]."

What a satisfactory light does this sentence throw on the beautiful passage in the "Lady of the Lake!"—

> "'I'll dream no more—by manly mind
> Not even in sleep is will resign'd—
> My midnight orisons said o'er,
> I'll turn to sleep, and dream no more.'
> His midnight orisons he told,
> A prayer with every bead of gold,
> Consign'd to Heaven his cares and woes,
> And sunk in undisturb'd repose."

For other unequivocal indications of unaffected seriousness we would appeal to the notices of his occasional intercourse with Lord Byron. The following passages, if we mistake not, imply more or less a wish on Scott's part to make the most of any opportunity he might enjoy, for making an impression for good on one, whom he admired for his talents and pitied for the distemperature of his mind, which he, from the beginning, seems to have been aware of. As his manner was, he had formed a much higher opinion than the truth warranted of Lord Byron's station as a poet in comparison with his own; and when they came to be acquainted, it should seem that this, with his other manly and amiable qualities, caused his lordship to be less unapproachable to him than he was to most others; that Scott, being deeply interested for him, tried to avail himself of this partiality, in order to turn his mind towards better ways of thinking; and that in fact Lord Byron endured more of that kind from him than he commonly would from any one else, and paid him the unconscious but unequivocal compliment of always appearing to him in his best mood. Such are our conclusions: now for extracts to warrant them.

"Have you seen the 'Pilgrimage of Childe Harold,' by Lord Byron? It is, I think, a very clever poem, but gives no good

[8] Vol. vi. p. 263.

symptom of the writer's heart and morals; his hero, notwithstanding the affected antiquity of the style in some parts, is a modern man of fashion and fortune, worn out and satiated with the pursuits of dissipation; and although there is a caution against it in the preface, you cannot for your soul avoid concluding that the author, as he gives an account of his own travels, is also doing so in his own character. Now really this is too bad; vice ought to be a little more modest, and it must require impudence, at least equal to the noble lord's other powers, to claim sympathy gravely for the ennui arising from his being tired of his wassailers and his paramours. * * * Yet with all this conceit and assurance there is much poetical merit in the book, and I wish you would read it[t]."

This was his original, unbiassed judgment; but his second thoughts savour of his respect for the verdict of others, and still as Lord Byron mounted higher in popularity, and became what some would call a more formidable rival, Scott, like a true knight, thought and spoke more favourably of him, till at last he came to pronounce him "the only poet we have had since Dryden of transcendent talents[u];" and to assign Byron's having *bet* (surpassed) him as the reason why he left off writing in verse. With this disposition on Scott's part the two poets met, and the following is part of Scott's account of their intercourse:—

"Report had prepared me to meet a man of peculiar habits and a quick temper, and I had some doubts whether we were likely to suit each other in society. I was most agreeably disappointed in this respect. I found Lord Byron in the highest degree courteous, and even kind. We met for an hour or two, almost daily, in Mr. Murray's drawing-room, and found a good deal to say to each other. We also met frequently in parties and evening society, so that, for about two months, I had the advantage of a considerable intimacy with this distinguished individual. Our sentiments agreed a good deal, except upon the subjects of religion and politics; upon neither of which I was inclined to believe that Lord Byron entertained very fixed opinions. I remember saying to him that I really thought if he lived a few years he would alter his sentiments. He answered, rather sharply, 'I suppose you are one of those who prophesy I shall

[t] Vol. ii. p. 394. [u] Vol. vii. p. 376.

turn methodist.' I replied, 'No. I don't expect your conversion to be of such an ordinary kind. I would rather look to see you retreat upon the Catholic faith, and distinguish yourself by the austerity of your penances. The species of religion to which you must, or may, one day attach yourself, must exercise a strong power over the imagination.' He smiled gravely, and seemed to allow I might be right. I think I can add little more to my recollections of Byron. He was often melancholy, almost gloomy. When I observed him in this humour, I used to wait till either it went off of its own accord, or till some natural and easy mode occurred of leading him into conversation, when the shadows almost always left his countenance, like the mist rising from a landscape. * * * * I met with him very frequently in society; our mutual acquaintances doing me the honour to think that he liked to meet with me. * * * * I think I also remarked in Byron's temper starts of suspicion, when he seemed to pause and consider whether there had not been a secret and perhaps offensive meaning in something casually said to him. In this case I also judged it best to let his mind, like a troubled spring, work itself clear, which it did in a minute or two. I was considerably older, you will recollect, than my noble friend, and had no reason to fear his misconstruing my sentiments towards him, nor had I ever the slightest reason to doubt that they were kindly returned on his part. If I had occasion to be mortified by the display of genius which threw into the shade such pretensions as I was then supposed to possess, I might console myself that in my own case the materials of mental happiness had been mingled in a greater proportion.

"I rummage my brains in vain for what often rushes into my head unbidden; little traits and sayings which recall his looks, manner, tone, and gestures; and I have always continued to think that a crisis of life was arrived in which a new career of fame was open to him, and that had he been permitted to start upon it, he would have obliterated the memory of such parts of his life as friends would wish to forget [x]."

To this we may add what Sir Walter Scott once told Captain Hall on this subject [y].

"Lord Byron quoted, with the bitterest despair, to Scott, the strong expression of Shakespeare, 'Our pleasant vices are but

[x] Vol. iii. p. 337.

[y] Vol. v. p. 402.

whips to scourge us;' he added, 'I would to God I could have your peace of mind, Mr. Scott; I would give all I have, all my fame, everything, to be able to speak on this subject' (that of domestic happiness) 'as you do.'"

The religious principle, moreover, of the reality of which the above extracts, with many others, afford no doubtful indication, was accompanied in Scott by certain predilections and opinions, which require only to be named in order to shew what hopeful training he was in for the complete system of the old Catholic Church, could it but have been fully and fairly presented to his mind. We allude in particular to a trait which needs no proof by examples, it is so obvious on the surface of all his most engaging narratives; the love of the marvellous and supernatural, not simply as employing his fancy, but as exercising the principle of faith within him:—his inclination, of the two, to be rather superstitious than unbelieving. This is curiously illustrated by some passages in his life, indicating the sort of pain which he felt, when persons attempted to pry too minutely into accounts of extraordinary appearances and impressions—to draw the exact line between the natural and supernatural. In spite of himself he was continually betraying, that he shrank from the rude and irreverent dealings of modern minute philosophy on topics of that kind.

"On the subject," says Mr. Adolphus, "commonly designated as the marvellous, his mind was susceptible, and it was delicate. He loved to handle them in his own manner and in his own season, not to be pressed with them, or brought to anything like a test of belief or disbelief respecting them. There is, perhaps, in most minds, a point more or less advanced, at which incredulity on these subjects may be found to waver. Sir W. Scott, as it seemed to me, never cared to ascertain precisely where this point lay in his own mental constitution; still less, I suppose, did he wish the investigation to be seriously pursued by others. In no instance, however, was his colloquial eloquence more striking than when he was well launched in some 'tale of wonder.' The story came from him with an equally good grace, whether it was to receive a natural solution,

to be smiled at as merely fantastical, or to take its chance of a serious reception [z]."

It seems plain that the mind here disclosed would have welcomed the opinions of the early Christian times, as earnestly as it rejected the modern Genevan metaphysics. The tenets of the presence of good and evil angels, of the power of sacramentals, of communion with the faithful departed, in short, the whole of the high doctrine concerning the Holy Catholic Church and the Communion of Saints, had it been fairly presented to him unincumbered of Romanism, would have found ready entrance into a willing mind. The severe simple majesty and richness of the full apostolic ritual would as surely have attracted him, as he was disgusted by the overstrained fancies of ultra-Protestants. Take, e.g. his opinions on psalmody [a]:—

"I think those hymns which do not immediately recall the warm and exalted language of the Bible, however elegant, rather cold and flat for the purposes of devotion. You will readily believe that I do not approve of the vague and indiscriminate Scripture language which the fanatics of old and modern Methodists have adopted, but merely that solemnity and peculiarity of diction which at once puts the reader and hearer upon his guard as to the purpose of the poetry. To my gothic ear, indeed, the *Stabat Mater*, the *Dies Iræ*, and some of the other hymns of the Catholic Church, are more solemn and affecting than the fine classical poetry of Buchanan; the one has the gloomy dignity of a gothic church, and reminds us instantly of the worship to which it is dedicated; the other is more like a Pagan temple, recalling to our memory the classical and fabulous deities [b]."

It appeared on his very death-bed how deeply these associations had sunk into him [c].

"His mind, though hopelessly obscured, seemed to be dwelling, when there was any symptom of consciousness, on serious and solemn things; the accent of the voice grave, sometimes awful, but not querulous, and very seldom indicative of any angry or resentful thoughts. . . . Commonly what we could follow him

[z] Vol. vii. p. 59. [a] Vol. iii. p. 25. [b] Compare "Life of Dryden," p. 342, Second Edition. [c] Vol. vii. p. 391.

in was a fragment of the Bible, (especially the Prophecies of Isaiah and the Book of Job,) or some petition in the Litany—or a verse of some Psalm, (in the old Scotch metrical version,) or of some of the magnificent hymns of the Romish ritual, in which he had always delighted, but which probably hung on his memory now in connection with the Church services he had attended while in Italy. We very often heard distinctly the cadence of the *Dies Iræ;* and I think the very last *stanza* that we could make out was the first of a still greater favourite :—

"Stabat Mater dolorosa
Juxta crucem lachrymosa,
Dum pendebat Filius."

(It will be remembered that his first great poem, and that in which he most pours himself out, ends with a translation of the *Dies Iræ.*)

In all this, (to borrow the powerful language of Burke) we seem to discern "the reachings and graspings" of a natural piety, deep and practical in itself, and therefore manly and sober in its expression, often striving to feel its way out of the unnatural confinement in which it was educated, but not well-discerning in what direction to emerge. Situated as Scott was, we may and must regret, but we cannot severely censure, that inadequate sense of the religion of holy places, and of the appointed means of grace and Catholic communion, which permitted him, not occasionally, but as part of his settled plan of life, to substitute, during great part of the year, his own reading in his dining-room for the regular offices of the Church: we can allow for the unfavourable notion which he seems in general to have entertained of the Anglican clergy; of which class, as far as we recollect, he has not produced a single good specimen in all his novels from "Kenilworth" to the "Antiquary:" we feel no surprise at his incredulity about the austerer parts of Catholic practice: we can understand how, without anything like settled perverseness of heart, he might take liberties with the words of Holy Scripture. In this last remark we do not so much refer to the *vexata quæstio* concerning the over-correct imitation of the Puritan sermons and conversa-

tions in "Old Mortality," but rather to the irreverent introduction of Scripture phrases in familiar talk and correspondence, which, it is too plain from Scott's letters, and still more from some of those addressed to him, was practised among them as a matter of course. Painful as such expressions are, they are almost sure to be adopted, more or less unconsciously, even by persons who have no irreverent meaning, in a country where it is a part of religion to talk much of holy things, and to be fluent in quoting the most sacred words. It is, in short, the extreme Protestant rule of dispensing with all reserve about the Scriptures—such reserve as was religiously practised in the ancient Church—to which we attribute in great measure this grievous blot in a style otherwise so delightful.

Assuredly it arose not from general want of deliberate veneration for the Bible.

"His Sunday talk with his children," says Mr. Lockhart, "was just such a series of Biblical lessons as that which we have preserved for the permanent use of rising generations, in his 'Tales of a Grandfather,' on the early history of Scotland. I wish he had committed that other series to writing too: how different that would have been from our thousand compilations of dead epitome and imbecile cant! *He had his Bible, the Old Testament especially, by heart.*"

When during his illness he first awoke from a sort of stupor of days' and weeks' continuance,—

"He expressed a wish that I should read to him: and when I asked from what book? he said, '*Need you ask? There is but one.*' I chose the 14th chapter of St. John's Gospel; he listened with mild devotion, and said when I had done, 'Well, this is a great comfort: I have followed you distinctly, and I feel as if I were yet to be myself again.'"

A little after, we find that, while he had completely forgotten his favourite passages, from Crabbe for instance,—

"His recollection of whatever was read from the Bible appeared to be clear and lively; and in the afternoon, when we

made his grandson, a child of six years, repeat some of Dr. Watts's hymns by his chair, he seemed also to remember them perfectly. That evening he heard the Church service, and when I was about to close the book, said, 'Why do you omit the Visitation for the Sick?' which I added accordingly."

Another instance of his sober love of the Liturgy.

It is not, therefore, on Sir Walter himself that we charge any of these deficiencies in Catholic ἦθος, or the occasional concessions to Liberalism, by which they are accompanied; but rather on the cast and tone of religious opinion which prevailed where his lot was cast: and does it not still widely prevail? We have no right nor desire to complain of the individual: but we do and must complain of a system, which, disparaging the means of grace and the glory of God's visible kingdom, and disregarding the prime law of reverential reserve, rejected those noble impulses which the primitive Catholic system would have developed and sanctified. We do consider it a sorrowful thing, that the eye of such a mind should never have rested on the true form of the City of God; "quæ si oculis ejus cerneretur, mirabiles amores excitaret." What might have resulted in the way of poetry, or poetical narrative, had things been otherwise ordered, we can but faintly imagine.

Only we would fain, before concluding, enter our protest against the suspicion, not unlikely to occur to many, that there was a cold ideality in the plan of the primitive Church, a severe calmness in her tone of sentiment, which would have taken away the charm from romantic poetry, by precluding the writer from the free exercise of sympathy and imagination. The very contrary is the truth. As the Church herself is the only system, which, according to her title Catholic, comprehends all people, nations and languages; so the poet of the Church, if ever such an one should arise, will find neither feeling nor condition, in human life or in the works of God, beyond his reach or without his province. The hand of our great minstrel would not have been cramped—believe it not—by such a guiding spirit: but his touch in many cases would have

been steadier, and his expression more decided, as being sure that he was striking the right note. You would have felt throughout that the writer was sure he was telling substantial truth: which, after all, is the charm of charms to all men. Nor is this altogether visionary. A living writer, Manzoni, has shewn what interest may be communicated to a romance on true Church principles, by powers of a high order indeed, but very deficient in the resource and brilliancy of Scott.

Perhaps, however, it is hardly to be expected that a Catholic Homer or Shakespeare should ever arise. It might almost seem to be ordained, that the master-minds of poetry should not be cast on those times and places, where the Church, the only perfect mould to form them in, exists in anything near its original lustre. As perfect kings, so perfect poets, are hardly to be found in her annals: as though it were intended she should work her way still by instruments comparatively mean and unworthy, and never be tempted to transfer the glory from herself, or rather from Him with whom she is instinct, to any even of her most favoured children.

> "Privatus *illi* census *erit* brevis,
> Commune, magnum."

Or, if we may without irreverence so apply even sacred words, it may be as well that in this respect also none of her children should believe "that aught of the things which he possesses is his own," or the property of any individual besides, but that all should have "all things common;" that whatsoever is done in God's household, and for God's cause, may be evidently done by God's wisdom and not by man's.

SACRED POETRY[a].

THERE are many circumstances about this little volume, which tend powerfully to disarm criticism. In the first place, it is, for the most part, of a *sacred* character: taken up with those subjects, which least of all admit, with propriety, either in the author or critic, the exercise of intellectual subtlety. For the *practical* tendency, indeed, of such compositions, both are most deeply responsible; the author who publishes, and the critic who undertakes to recommend or to censure them. But if they appear to be written with any degree of sincerity and earnestness, we naturally shrink from treating them merely as literary efforts. To interrupt the current of a reader's sympathy in such a case, by critical objections, is not merely to deprive him of a little harmless pleasure, it is to disturb him almost in a devotional exercise. The most considerate reviewer, therefore, of a volume of sacred poetry, will think it a subject on which it is easier to say too much than too little.

In the present instance, this consideration is enforced by the unpretending tone of the volume, which bears internal evidence, for the most part, of not having been written to meet the eye of the world. It is in vain to say, that this claim on the critic's favour is nullified by publication. The author may give it up, and yet the work may retain it. We may still feel that we have no right to judge severely of what was not, at first, intended to come before our judgment at all. This of course applies only to those compositions, which indicate, by something within themselves, this freedom from the pretension of authorship. And such are most of those, to which we are now bespeaking our readers' attention.

[a] "The Star in the East; with other Poems." By Josiah Conder. London: Taylor and Hessey. 1824. 12mo., pp. 195.

Most of them, we say, because the first poem in the volume, "The Star in the East," is of a more ambitious and less pleasing character. Although in blank verse, it is, in fact, a lyrical effusion; an ode on the rapid progress and final triumph of the Gospel. It looks like the composition of a young man: harsh and turgid in parts, but interspersed with some rather beautiful touches. The opening lines are a fair specimen:—

"O to have heard th' unearthly symphonies,
Which o'er the starlight peace of Syrian skies
Came floating like a dream, that blessed night
When angel songs were heard by sinful men,
Hymning Messiah's advent! O to have watch'd
The night with those poor shepherds, whom, when first
The glory of the Lord shed sudden day—
Day without dawn, starting from midnight, day
Brighter than morning—on those lonely hills
Strange fear surpris'd—fear lost in wondering joy,
When from th' angelic multitude swell'd forth
The many-voiced consonance of praise:—
Glory in th' highest to God, and upon earth
Peace, towards men good will. But once before,
In such glad strains of joyous fellowship,
The silent earth was greeted by the heavens,
When at its first foundation they looked down
From their bright orbs, those heavenly ministries,
Hailing the new-born world with bursts of joy."

Notwithstanding beauties scattered here and there, there is an effort and constrained stateliness in the poem, very different from the rapidity and simplicity of many of the shorter lyrics, which follow under the titles of "Sacred and Domestic Poems." Such, for instance, as the "Poor Man's Hymn:"—

"As much have I of worldly good
As e'er my Master had:
I diet on as dainty food,
And am as richly clad,
Tho' plain my garb, though scant my board,
As Mary's Son and Nature's Lord.

"The manger was His infant bed,
His home, the mountain-cave,
He had not where to lay His head,
He borrow'd e'en His grave.
Earth yielded Him no resting spot,—
Her Maker, but she knew Him not.

"As much the world's good will I bear,
Its favours and applause,
As He, whose blessed name I bear,—
Hated without a cause,
Despis'd, rejected, mock'd by pride,
Betray'd, forsaken, crucified.

"Why should I court my Master's foe?
Why should I fear its frown?
Why should I seek for rest below,
Or sigh for brief renown?
A pilgrim to a better land,
An heir of joy at God's right hand."

Or the following sweet lines on "Home," which occur among the Domestic poems:—

"That is not home, where day by day
I wear the busy hours away.
That is not home, where lonely night
Prepares me for the toils of light—
'Tis hope, and joy, and memory, give
A home in which the heart can live—
These walls no lingering hopes endear,
No fond remembrance chains me here.
Cheerless I heave the lonely sigh—
Eliza, canst thou tell me why?
'Tis where thou art is home to me,
And home without thee cannot be.

"There are who strangely love to roam,
And find in wildest haunts their home;
And some in halls of lordly state,
Who yet are homeless, desolate.

The sailor's home is on the main [b],
The warrior's, on the tented plain,
The maiden's, in her bower of rest,
The infant's on his mother's breast—
But where thou art, is home to me,
And home without thee cannot be.

"There is no home in halls of pride,
They are too high, and cold, and wide.
No home is by the wanderer found:
'Tis not in place: it hath no bound.
It is a circling atmosphere
Investing all the heart holds dear;—
A law of strange attractive force,
That holds the feelings in their course;

"It is a presence undefin'd,
O'er-shadowing the conscious mind,
Where love and duty sweetly blend
To consecrate the name of friend;—
Where'er thou art, is home to me,
And home without thee cannot be.

"My love, forgive the anxious sigh—
I hear the moments rushing by,
And think that life is fleeting fast,
That youth with us will soon be past.
Oh! when will time, consenting, give
The home in which my heart can live?
There shall the past and future meet,
And o'er our couch, in union sweet,
Extend their cherub wings, and shower
Bright influence on the present hour.
Oh! when shall Israel's mystic guide,
The pillar'd cloud, our steps decide,
Then, resting, spread its guardian shade,
To bless the home which love hath made?
Daily, my love, shall thence arise
Our hearts' united sacrifice;
And home indeed a home will be,
Thus consecrate and shar'd with thee."

[b] We have taken the liberty of slightly altering this couplet, in order to avoid a grammatical incorrectness in the first line of it.
"The warrior's home is tented plain."—*Rev.*

We will add one more specimen of the same kind, which forms a natural and pleasing appendix to the preceding lines:—

"Louise! you wept, that morn of gladness
Which made your Brother blest;
And tears of half-reproachful sadness
Fell on the Bridegroom's vest:
Yet, pearly tears were those, to gem
A Sister's bridal diadem.

"No words could half so well have spoken,
What thus was deeply shewn
By Nature's simplest, dearest token,
How much was then my own;
Endearing her for whom they fell,
And Thee, for having loved so well.

"But now no more—nor let a Brother,
Louise, regretful see,
That still 'tis sorrow to another,
That he should happy be.
Those were, I trust, the only tears
That day shall cost through coming years.

"Smile with us. Happy and light-hearted,
We three the time will while.
And when sometimes a season parted,
Still think of us, and smile.
But come to us in gloomy weather;
We'll weep, when we must weep, together[c]."

Now, what is the reason of the great difference between these extracts and that from the "Star in the East?" a difference which the earlier date of the latter, so far from accounting for, only makes the more extraordinary. In some instances, the interval of time is very short, but at all events more effort and turgidness might have been expected in the earlier poems, more simplicity and care and a more subdued tone in the later. We suspect a reason, which both poets and poetical readers are too apt to leave out of sight. There is a want of *Truth* in the "Star in the East"—not that the author is otherwise than quite

[c] pp. 128—130.

in earnest—but his earnestness seems rather an artificial glow, to which he has been worked up by reading and conversation of a particular cast, than the overflowing warmth of his own natural feelings, kindled by circumstances in which he was himself placed. In a word, when he writes of the success of the Bible Society, and the supposed amelioration of the world in consequence, he writes from report and fancy only: but when he speaks of a happy home, of kindly affections, of the comforts which piety can administer in disappointment and sorrow; either we are greatly mistaken, or he speaks from real and present experience. The poetical result is what the reader has seen:—

—"mens onus reponit, et peregrino
Labore fessi venimus Larem ad nostrum."—

We turn gladly from our fairy voyage round the world to refresh ourselves with a picture, which we feel to be drawn from the life, of a happy and innocent fireside. Nor is it, in the slightest degree, derogatory to an author's talent, to say, that he has failed, comparatively, on that subject, of which he must have known comparatively little.

Let us here pause a moment to explain what is meant when we speak of such prospects as are above alluded to, being shadowy and unreal in respect of what is matter of experience. It is not that we doubt the tenor of the Scripture, regarding the final conversion of the whole world, or that we close our eyes to the wonderful arrangements, if the expression may be used, which divine providence seems everywhere making, with a view to that great consummation. One circumstance, in particular, arrests our attention, as pervading the whole of modern history, but gradually standing out in a stronger light as the view draws nearer our own times: we mean the rapid increase of colonization, *from Christian nations only*. So that the larger half of the globe, and what in the nature of things will soon become the more populous, is already, in profession, Christian. The event, therefore, is unquestionable: but experience, we fear, will hardly warrant the exulting anticipations, which our author, in common with many of whose sincerity there is no reason to doubt, has

raised upon it. It is but too conceivable, that the whole world may become nominally Christian, yet the face of things may be very little changed for the better. And any view of the progress of the Gospel, whether in verse or in prose, which leaves out this possibility, is so far wanting in truth, and in that depth of thought, which is as necessary to the higher kinds of poetical beauty, as to philosophy or theology itself.

This, however, is too solemn and comprehensive a subject to be lightly or hastily spoken of. It is enough to have glanced at it, as accounting, in some measure, for the general failure of modern poets in their attempts to describe the predicted triumph of the Gospel in the latter days.

To return to the sacred and domestic poems; thus advantageously distinguished from that which gives name to the volume. Affection, whether heavenly or earthly, is the simplest idea that can be; and in the graceful and harmonious expression of it lies the principal beauty of these poems. In the descriptive parts, and in the development of abstract sentiment, there is more of effort, and occasionally something very like affectation: approaching, in one instance, (the "Nightingale,") far nearer than we could wish, to the most vicious of all styles, the style of Mr. Leigh Hunt and his miserable followers.

Now, these are just the sort of merit and the sort of defect, which one might naturally expect to find united: the very simplicity of attachment, which qualifies the mind for sacred or domestic poetry, making its movements awkward and constrained, when scenes are to be described, or thoughts unravelled, of more complication and less immediate interest. This is the rather to be observed, as many other sacred poets have become less generally pleasing and useful, than they otherwise would have been, from this very circumstance. The simple and touching devoutness of many of Bishop Kenn's lyrical effusions has been unregarded, because of the ungraceful contrivances, and heavy movement of his narrative. The same may be said, in our own times, of some parts of Montgomery's writings. His bursts of sacred poetry, compared with his "Greenland,"

remind us of a person singing enchantingly by ear, but becoming languid and powerless the moment he sits down to a note-book.

Such writers, it is obvious, do not sufficiently trust to the command which the simple expression of their feelings would obtain over their readers. They think it must be relieved with something of more variety and imagery, to which they work themselves up with laborious, and therefore necessarily unsuccessful efforts. The model for correcting their error is to be found in the inspired volume. We can, in general, be but incompetent judges of this, because we have been used to it from our boyhood. But let us suppose a person, whose ideas of poetry were entirely gathered from modern compositions, taking up the Psalms for the first time. Among many other remarkable differences, he would surely be impressed with the sacred writer's total carelessness about originality, and what is technically called *effect*. He would say, "This is something better than merely attractive poetry; it is absolute and divine truth." The same remark ought to be suggested by all sacred hymns; and it is, indeed, greatly to be lamented, that such writers as we have just mentioned should have ever lost sight of it—should have had so little confidence in the power of simplicity, and have condescended so largely to the laborious refinement of the profane muse.

To put the same truth in a light somewhat different; it is required, we apprehend, in all poets, but particularly in sacred poets, that they should seem to write with a view of unburthening their minds, and not for the sake of writing; for love of the subject, not of the employment. The distinction is very striking in descriptive poetry. Compare the landscapes of Cowper with those of Burns. There is, if we mistake not, the same sort of difference between them, as in the conversation of two persons on scenery, the one originally an enthusiast in his love of the works of nature, the other driven, by disappointment or weariness, to solace himself with them as he might. It is a contrast which every one must have observed, when such topics come under discussion in society; and those who

think it worth while, may find abundant illustration of it in the writings of this unfortunate but illustrious pair. The one all overflowing with the love of nature, and indicating, at every turn, that whatever his lot in life, he could not have been happy without her: the other visibly and wisely soothing himself, but not without effort, by attending to rural objects, in default of some more congenial happiness, of which he had almost come to despair. The latter, in consequence, laboriously sketching every object that came in his way: the other, in one or two rapid lines, which operate, as it were, like a magician's spell, presenting to the fancy just that picture, which was wanted to put the reader's mind in unison with the writer's. We would quote, as an instance, the description of Evening in the Fourth Book of "The Task:"—

"Come, Ev'ning, once again, season of peace;
Return, sweet Ev'ning, and continue long!
Methinks I see thee in the streaking west
With matron-step slow-moving, while the night
Treads on thy sweeping train; one hand employ'd
In letting fall the curtain of repose
On bird and beast, the other charg'd for man
With sweet oblivion of the cares of day:
Not sumptuously adorn'd, nor needing aid,
Like homely-featur'd night, of clust'ring gems;
A star or two, just twinkling on thy brow,
Suffices thee; save that the moon is thine
No less than hers, not worn indeed on high
With ostentatious pageantry, but set
With modest grandeur in thy purple zone,
Resplendent less, but of an ampler round.
Come then, and thou shalt find thy vot'ry calm,
Or make me so. Composure is thy gift."

And we would set over against it that purely pastoral chant,—

"Now rosy May comes in wi' flowers
To deck her gay, green spreading bowers;
And now comes in my happy hours,
To wander wi' my Davie.

Meet me on the warlock knowe
Dainty Davie, dainty Davie,
There I'll spend the day wi' you
My ain dear dainty Davie.

"The crystal waters round us fa',
The merry birds are lovers a',
The scented breezes round us blaw,
A wandering wi' my Davie.
Meet me, &c.

"When purple morning starts the hare,
To steal upon her early fare,
Then thro' the dews I will repair,
To meet my faithfu' Davie.
Meet me, &c.

"When day, expiring in the west,
The curtain draws o' nature's rest,
I flee to his arms I loe blest,
And that's my ain dear Davie.
Meet me, &c."

There is surely no need to explain how this instinctive attachment to his subject is especially requisite in the sacred poet. If even the description of material objects is found to languish without it, much more will it be looked for when the best and highest of all affections is to be expressed and communicated to others. The nobler and worthier the object, the greater our disappointment to find it approached with anything like languor or constraint.

We must just mention one more quality, which may seem, upon consideration, essential to perfection in this kind: viz.—that the feelings the writer expresses should appear to be specimens of his general tone of thought, not sudden bursts and mere flashes of goodness. Wordsworth's beautiful description of the Stock-dove might not unaptly be applied to him:—

"He should sing 'of love with silence blending,
Slow to begin, yet never ending,
Of serious faith and inward glee.'"

Some may, perhaps, object to this, as a dull and languid strain of sentiment. But before we yield to their censures we would inquire of them what style they consider, themselves, as most appropriate to similar subjects in a kindred art. If grave, simple, sustained melodies—if tones of deep but subdued emotion are what our minds naturally suggest to us upon the mention of sacred *music*—why should there not be something analogous, a kind of plain chant, in sacred *poetry* also? fervent, yet sober; awful, but engaging; neither wild and passionate, nor light and airy; but such as we may with submission presume to be the most acceptable offering in its kind, as being indeed the truest expression of the best state of the affections. To many, perhaps to most, men, a tone of more violent emotion may sound at first more attractive. But before we *indulge* such a preference, we should do well to consider, whether it is quite agreeable to that spirit, which alone can make us worthy readers of sacred poetry. *Ἔνθεον ἡ ποιήσις*, it is true: there must be rapture and inspiration, but these will naturally differ in their character as the powers do from whom they proceed. The worshippers of Baal may be rude and frantic in their cries and gestures; but the true Prophet, speaking to or of the true God, is all dignity and calmness.

If then, in addition to the ordinary difficulties of poetry, all these things are essential to the success of the Christian lyrist—if what he sets before us must be true in substance, and in manner marked by a noble simplicity and confidence in that truth, by a sincere attachment to it, and entire familiarity with it—then we need not wonder that so few should have become eminent in this branch of their art, nor need we have recourse to the disheartening and unsatisfactory solutions which are sometimes given of that circumstance.

"Contemplative piety," says Dr. Johnson, "or the intercourse between God and the human soul, cannot be poetical. Man, admitted to implore the mercy of his Creator, and plead the merits of his Redeemer, is already in a higher state than poetry can confer[d]."

[d] "Life of Waller."

The sentiment is not uncommon among serious, but somewhat fearful, believers; and though we believe it erroneous, we desire to treat it not only with tenderness, but with reverence. They start at the very mention of sacred poetry, as though poetry were in its essence a profane amusement. It is, unquestionably, by far the safer extreme to be too much afraid of venturing with the imagination upon sacred ground. Yet, if it be an error, and a practical error, it may be worth while cautiously to examine the grounds of it. In the generality, perhaps, it is not so much a deliberate opinion, as a prejudice against the use of the art, arising out of its abuse. But the great writer just referred to has endeavoured to establish it by direct reasoning. He argues the point, first, from the nature of poetry, and afterwards from that of devotion.

"The essence of poetry is invention; such invention as, by producing something unexpected, surprises and delights. The topics of devotion are few."

It is to be hoped that many men's experience will refute the latter part of this statement. How can the topics of devotion be few, when we are taught to make every part of life, every scene in nature, an occasion—in other words, a topic—of devotion? It might as well be said that connubial love is an unfit subject for poetry, as being incapable of novelty, because, after all, it is only ringing the changes upon one simple affection, which every one understands. The novelty there consists, not in the original topic, but in continually bringing ordinary things, by happy strokes of natural ingenuity, into new associations with the ruling passion.

"There's not a bonnie flower that springs
By fountain, shaw, or green;
There's not a bonnie bird that sings
But minds me of my Jean."

Why need we fear to extend this most beautiful and natural sentiment to "the intercourse between the human soul and its Maker!" possessing, as we do, the very highest warrant for the analogy which subsists between conjugal and divine love.

Novelty, therefore, sufficient for all the purposes of poetry, we may have on sacred subjects. Let us pass to the next objection :—

"Poetry pleases by exhibiting an idea more grateful to the mind than things themselves afford. This effect proceeds from the display of those parts of nature which attract, and the concealment of those which repel, the imagination : but religion must be shewn as it is ; suppression and addition equally corrupt it ; and, such as it is, it is known already."

A fallacy may be apprehended in both parts of this statement. There are, surely, real landscapes which delight the mind as sincerely and intensely as the most perfect description could ; and there are family groups which give a more exquisite sensation of domestic happiness than anything in Milton, or even Shakespeare. It is partly by association with these, the treasures of the memory, and not altogether by mere excitement of the imagination, that Poetry does her work. By the same rule sacred pictures and sacred songs cannot fail to gratify the mind which is at all exercised in devotion : recalling, as they will, whatever of highest perfection in that way she can remember in herself, or has learned of others.

Then again, it is not the religious doctrine itself, so much as the effect of it upon the human mind and heart, which the sacred poet has to describe. What is said of suppression and addition may be true enough with regard to the former, but is evidently incorrect when applied to the latter : it being an acknowledged difficulty in all devotional writings, and not in devotional verse only, to keep clear of the extremes of languor on the one hand, and debasing rapture on the other. This requires a delicacy in the perception and enunciation of truth, of which the most earnest believer may be altogether destitute. And since, probably, no man's condition, in regard to eternal things, is exactly like that of any other man, and yet it is the business of the sacred poet to sympathise with all, his store of subjects is clearly inexhaustible, and

his powers of discrimination—in other words, of suppression and addition—are kept in continual exercise.

Nor is he, by any means, so straitly limited in the other and more difficult branch of his art, the exhibition of religious doctrine itself, as is supposed in the following statement :—

"Whatever is great, desirable, or tremendous, is comprised in the name of the Supreme Being. Omnipotence cannot be exalted ; infinity cannot be amplified ; perfection cannot be improved."

True: all perfection is implied in the Name of God ; and so all the beauties and luxuries of spring are comprised in that one word. But is it not the very office of poetry to develope and display the particulars of such complex ideas? in such a way, for example, as the idea of God's omnipresence is developed in the 139th Psalm? and thus detaining the mind for a while, to force or help her to think steadily on truths which she would hurry unprofitably over, how strictly soever they may be implied in the language which she uses. It is really surprising that this great and acute critic did not perceive that the objection applies as strongly against any kind of composition of which the Divine Nature is the subject, as against devotional poems.

We forbear to press the consideration, that even if the objection were allowed in respect of natural religion, it would not hold against the devotional compositions of a Christian ; the object of whose worship has condescended also to become the object of description, affection and sympathy, in the literal sense of these words. But this is, perhaps, too solemn and awful an argument for this place ; and therefore we pass on to the concluding statement of the passage under consideration, in which the writer turns his view downwards, and argues against sacred poetry from the nature of man, as he had before from the nature of God :—

" The employments of pious meditation are faith, thanksgiving, repentance and supplication. Faith, invariably uniform, cannot be invested by Fancy with decorations. Thanksgiving,

the most joyful of all holy effusions, yet addressed to a Being without passions, is confined to a few modes, and is to be felt rather than expressed."

What we have said of the variation of the devout affections, as they exist in various persons, is sufficient, we apprehend, to answer this. But the rest of the paragraph requires some additional reflection :—

"Repentance, trembling in the presence of the Judge, is not at leisure for cadences and epithets."

This is rather invidiously put, and looks as if the author had not entire confidence in the truth of what he was saying. Indeed, it may very well be questioned ; since many of the more refined passions, it is certain, naturally express themselves in poetical language. But repentance is not merely a passion, nor is its only office to tremble in the presence of the Judge. So far from it, that one great business of sacred poetry, as of sacred music, is to quiet and sober the feelings of the penitent—to make his compunction as much of "a reasonable service" as possible.

To proceed :—

"Supplication of man to man may diffuse itself through many topics of persuasion : but supplication to God can only cry for mercy."

Certainly, this would be true, if the abstract nature of the Deity were alone considered. But if we turn to the sacred volume, which corrects so many of our erring anticipations, we there find that, whether in condescension to our infirmities, or for other wise purposes, we are furnished with inspired precedents for addressing ourselves to God in all the various tones, and by all the various topics, which we should use to a good and wise man standing in the highest and nearest relation to us. This is so palpably the case throughout the Scriptures, that it is quite surprising how a person of so much serious thought as Dr. Johnson could have failed to recollect it when arguing on the subject of prayer. In fact, there is a simple test, by which, perhaps, the whole of his reasoning on sacred poetry might be fairly and decisively tried. Let the

reader, as he goes over it, bear in mind the Psalms of David, and consider whether every one of his statements and arguments is not there practically refuted.

It is not, then, because sacred subjects are peculiarly unapt for poetry, that so few sacred poets are popular. We have already glanced at some of the causes to which we attribute it—we ought to add another, which strikes us as important. Let us consider how the case stands with regard to books of devotion in *prose*.

We may own it reluctantly, but must it not be owned? that if two new publications meet the eye at once, of which no more is known, than that the one is what is familiarly called *a good book*, the other a work of mere literature, nine readers out of ten will take up the second rather than the first? If this be allowed, whatever accounts for it will contribute to account also for the comparative failure of devotional poetry. For this sort of coldness and languor in the reader must act upon the author in more ways than one. The large class, who write for money or applause, will of course be carried, by the tide of popularity, towards some other subject. Men of more sincere minds, either from true or false delicacy, will have little heart to expose their retired thoughts to the risk of mockery or neglect; and if they do venture, will be checked every moment, like an eager but bashful musician before a strange audience, not knowing how far the reader's feelings will harmonise with their own. This leaves the field open, in a great measure, to harder or more enthusiastic spirits; who offending continually, in their several ways, against delicacy, the one by wildness, the other by coarseness, aggravate the evil which they wished to cure; till the sacred subject itself comes at last to bear the blame, due to the indifference of the reader and the indiscretion of the writer.

Such, we apprehend, would be a probable account of the condition of sacred poetry, in a country where religion was coldly acknowledged, and literature earnestly pursued. How far the description may apply to England and English literature, in their various changes since the

Reformation—how far it may hold true of our own times—is an inquiry which would lead us too far at present; but it is surely worth considering. It goes deeper than any question of mere literary curiosity. It is a sort of test of the genuineness of those pretensions, which many of us are, perhaps, too forward to advance, to a higher state of morality and piety, as well as knowledge and refinement, than has been known elsewhere or in other times.

Those who, in spite of such difficulties, desire in earnest to do good by the poetical talent which they may happen to possess, have only, as it should seem, the following alternative. Either they must veil, as it were, the sacredness of the subject—not necessarily by allegory, for it may be done in a thousand other ways—and so deceive the world of taste into devotional reading—

> "Succhi amari intanto ei beve,
> E dall' inganno sua vita riceve—"

or else, directly avowing that their subject as well as purpose is devotion, they must be content with a smaller number of readers; a disadvantage, however, compensated by the fairer chance of doing good to each.

It may be worth while to endeavour to trace this distinction, as exemplified in the most renowned of the sacred poets of England; and to glean from such a survey the best instruction we can, in the happy art of turning the most fascinating part of literature to the highest purposes of religion.

We must premise, that we limit the title of "sacred poet" by excluding those, who only devoted a small portion of their time and talent now and then, to sacred subjects. In all ages of our literary history it seems to have been considered almost as an essential part of a poet's duty to give up some pages to Scriptural story, or to the praise of his Maker, how remote soever from anything like religion the general strain of his writings might be. Witness the "Lamentation of Mary Magdalene" in the works of Chaucer, and the beautiful legend

of "Hew of Lincoln," which he has inserted in the "Canterbury Tales;" witness also the hymns of Ben Jonson. But these fragments alone will not entitle their authors to be enrolled among sacred poets. They indicate the taste of their age, rather than their own; a fact which may be thought to stand rather in painful contrast with the literary history of later days.

There is another class likewise, of whom little need be said in this place; we mean those who composed, strictly and only, for the sake of unburthening their own minds, without any thought of publication. But as Chaucer's sacred effusions indicate chiefly the character of the times, so poems such as those we now allude to, mark only the turn of mind of the individual writers; and our present business is rather with that sort of poetry which combines both sorts of instruction; that, namely, which bears internal evidence of having been written by sincere men, with an intention of doing good, and with consideration of the taste of the age in which they lived.

Recurring then to the distinction above laid down, between the direct and indirect modes of sacred poetry; at the head of the two classes, as the reader may perhaps have anticipated, we set the glorious names of Spenser and of Milton. The claim of Spenser to be considered as a sacred poet does by no means rest upon his hymns alone: although even these would be enough alone to embalm and consecrate the whole volume which contains them; as a splinter of the true cross is supposed by Catholic sailors to ensure the safety of the vessel. But whoever will attentively consider the "Fairy Queen" itself, will find that it is, almost throughout, such as might have been expected from the author of those truly sacred hymns. It is a continual, deliberate endeavour to enlist the restless intellect and chivalrous feeling, of an inquiring and romantic age, on the side of goodness and faith, of purity and justice.

This position is to be made good, not solely or perhaps chiefly, yet with no small force, from the allegorical structure of the poem. Most of us, perhaps, are rather dis-

posed to undervalue this contrivance; and even among the genuine admirers of Spenser, there are not a few who on purpose leave it out of their thoughts; finding, as they say, that it only embarrasses their enjoyment of the poetry. This is certainly far from reasonable: it is a relic of childish feeling, and mere love of amusement, which ill becomes any one who is old enough to appreciate the real beauties of Spenser. Yet it is so natural, so obviously to be expected, that we must suppose a scholar and philosopher (for such Spenser was, as well as a poet) to have been aware of it, and to have made up his mind to it, with all its disadvantages, for some strong reason or other. And what reason so likely as the hope of being seriously useful, both to himself and his readers?

To *himself*, because the constant recurrence to his allegory would serve as a check upon a fancy otherwise too luxuriant, and would prevent him from indulging in such liberties as the Italian poets, in other respects his worthy masters, were too apt to take. The consequence is, that even in his freest passages, and those which one would most wish unwritten, Spenser is by no means a *seductive* poet. Vice in him, however truly described, is always made contemptible or odious. The same may be said of Milton and Shakespeare; but Milton was of a cast of mind originally austere and rigorous. He looked on vice as a judge, Shakespeare as a satirist. Spenser was far more indulgent than either, and acted therefore the more wisely in setting himself a rule, which should make it essential to the plan of his poem to be always recommending some virtue; and remind him, like a voice from heaven, that the place on which he was standing was holy ground.

Then as to the benefit which the *readers* of the "Fairy Queen" may derive from its allegorical form; a good deal surely is to be gained from the mere habit of looking at things with a view to something beyond their qualities merely sensible; to their sacred and moral meaning, and to the high associations they were intended to create in us. Neither the works nor the word of God; neither

poetry nor theology; can be duly comprehended without constant mental exercise of this kind. The comparison of the Old Testament with the New is nothing else from beginning to end. And without something of this sort, poetry, and all the other arts, would indeed be relaxing to the tone of the mind. The allegory obviates this ill effect, by serving as a frequent remembrancer of this higher application. Not that it is necessary to bend and strain everything into conformity with it; a little leaven, of the genuine kind, will go a good way towards leavening the whole lump. And so it is in the "Fairy Queen;" for one stanza of direct allegory there are perhaps fifty of poetical embellishment; and it is in these last, after all, that the chief moral excellency of the poem lies; as we are now about to shew.

But to be understood rightly, we would premise, that there is a disposition,—the very reverse of that which leads to parody and caricature,—which is common indeed to all generous minds, but is perhaps unrivalled in Spenser. As parody and caricature debase what is truly noble, by connecting it with low and ludicrous associations; so a mind, such as we are now speaking of, ennobles what of itself might seem trivial; its thoughts and language, on all occasions, taking a uniform and almost involuntary direction towards the best and highest things.

This, however, is a subject which can be hardly comprehended without examples. The first which occurs to us is the passage which relates the origin of Belphœbe:—

> "Her birth was of the womb of morning dew,
> And her conception of the joyous prime,
> And all her whole creation did her shew
> Pure and unspotted from all loathly crime
> That is ingenerate in fleshly slime.
> So was this Virgin born, so was she bred,
> So was she trained up from time to time,
> In all chaste virtue and true bounti-hed,
> Till to her due perfection she was ripened."

It is evident how high and sacred a subject was present to the poet's mind in composing this stanza; and any

person who is well read in the Bible, with a clue like this may satisfy himself that all Spenser's writings are replete with similar tacit allusions to the language and the doctrines of sacred writ; allusions breathed, if we may so speak, rather than uttered, and much fitter to be silently considered, than to be dragged forward for quotation or minute criticism. Of course the more numerous and natural such allusions are, the more entirely are we justified in the denomination we have ventured to bestow on their author, of a truly "sacred" poet.

It may be felt, as some derogation from this high character, what he has himself avowed—that much of his allegory has a turn designedly given it in honour of Queen Elizabeth; a turn which will be called courtly or adulatory according to the humour of the critic. But in the first place, such was the custom of the times; it was adopted even in sermons by men whose sincerity it would be almost sacrilege to question. Then, the merits of Queen Elizabeth in respect of the Protestant cause were of that dazzling order, which might excuse a little poetical exuberance in her praise. And what is very deserving of consideration, it is certain that the most gentle and generous spirits are commonly found laying themselves open to this charge of excessive compliment in addressing princes and patrons. Witness the high style adopted by the venerable Hooker, in speaking of this very Queen Elizabeth: "Whose sacred power, matched with incomparable goodness of nature, hath hitherto been God's most happy instrument, by Him miraculously kept for works of so miraculous preservation and safety unto others," &c. Another instance of the same kind may be seen in Jeremy Taylor's dedication of his "Worthy Communicant" to the Princess of Orange. Nor is it any wonder it should be so, since such men feel most ardently the blessing and benefit, as well as the difficulty, of whatever is right in persons of such exalted station; and are also most strongly tempted to bear their testimony against the illiberal and envious censures of the vulgar. All these things, duly weighed, may seem to leave little, if anything, in the

panegyrical strains of this greatest of laureates, to be excused by the common infirmity of human nature; little to detract from our deliberate conviction, that he was seriously guided, in the exercise of his art, by a sense of duty, and zeal for what is durably important.

Spenser, then, was essentially a *sacred* poet; but the delicacy and insinuating gentleness of his disposition were better fitted to the veiled than the direct mode of instruction. His was a mind which would have shrunk more from the chance of debasing a sacred subject by unhandsome treatment, than of incurring ridicule by what would be called unseasonable attempts to hallow things merely secular. It was natural therefore for him to choose not a Scriptural story, but a tale of chivalry and romance; and the popular literature, and, in no small measure the pageantry and manners of his time, would join to attract his efforts that way. In this way too he was enabled, with more propriety and grace, to introduce allusions, political or courtly, to subjects with which his readers were familiar; thus agreeably diversifying his allegory, and gratifying his affection for his friends and patrons, without the coarseness of direct compliment.

In Milton, most evidently, a great difference was to be expected: both from his own character and from that of the times in which he lived. Religion was in those days the favourite topic of discussion; and it is indeed painful to reflect, how sadly it was polluted by intermixture with earthly passions; the most awful turns and most surprising miracles of the Jewish history being made to serve the base purposes of persons, of whom it is hard to say whether they were more successful in misleading others, or in deceiving themselves. It was an effort worthy of a manly and devout spirit to rescue religion from such degradation, by choosing a subject, which, being Scriptural, would suit the habit of the times, yet, from its universal and eternal importance, would give least opportunity for debasing temporary application. Then it was the temper of the man always to speak out. He carried it to a faulty excess, as his prose works too amply demonstrate. The

more unfashionable his moral was, the more he would have disdained to veil it: neither had he the shrinking delicacy of Spenser to keep him back, through fear of profaning things hallowed by an unworthy touch.

Thus the great epic poem of our language came to be, avowedly, a sacred poem. One hardly dares to wish anything other than it is in such a composition; yet it may be useful to point out, in what respects the moral infirmity of the times, or of the author, has affected the work; so that we are occasionally tempted to regret even Milton's choice. But as the leading error of his mind appears to have been *intellectual* pride, and as the leading fault of the generation with which he acted was unquestionably *spiritual* pride, so the main defects of his poetry may probably be attributed to the same causes.

There is a studious undervaluing of the female character, which may be most distinctly perceived by comparing the character of Eve with that of the Lady in "Comus:" the latter conceived, as we imagine, before the mind of the poet had become so deeply tainted with the fault here imputed to him. A remarkable instance of it is his describing Eve as unwilling, or unworthy, to discourse herself with the angel.

> "Such pleasure she reserved,
> Adam relating, she sole auditress."—

The sentiment may be natural enough, since the primæval curse upon women: but does it not argue rather too strong a sense of her original inferiority, to put it into her mind before the fall?

What again can be said for the reproachful and insulting tone, in which, more than once, the good angels are made to address the bad ones? or of the too attractive colours, in which, perhaps unconsciously, the poet has clothed the Author of Evil himself? It is a well-known complaint among many of the readers of "Paradise Lost," that they can hardly keep themselves from sympathising, in some sort, with Satan, as the hero of the poem. The most probable account of which surely is, that the author himself partook largely of the haughty and vindictive re-

publican spirit, which he has assigned to the character, and consequently, though perhaps unconsciously, drew the portrait with a peculiar zest.

These blemishes are in part attributable to the times in which he lived: but there is another now to be mentioned, which cannot be so accounted for: we mean a want of purity and spirituality in His conceptions of Heaven and heavenly joys. His Paradise is a vision not to be surpassed; but his attempts to soar higher are embarrassed with too much of earth still clinging as it were to his wings. Remarks of this kind are in general best understood by comparison, and we invite our readers to compare Milton with Dante, in their descriptions of Heaven. The one as simple as possible in his imagery, producing intense effect by little more than various combinations of *three* leading ideas—light, motion, and music—as if he feared to introduce anything more gross and earthly, and would rather be censured, as doubtless he often is, for coldness and poverty of invention. Whereas Milton, with very little selection or refinement, transfers to the immediate neighbourhood of God's throne, the imagery of Paradise and Earth. Indeed, he seems himself to have been aware of something unsatisfactory in this, and has inserted into the mouth of an angel, a kind of apology for it:—

> "Though what if earth
> Be but the shadow of heav'n, and things therein
> Each to 'other like, more than on earth is thought?"

These are blemishes, and sometimes almost tempt us to wish, that even Milton had taken some subject not so immediately and avowedly connected with religion. But they do not affect his claim to be considered as the very lodestar and pattern of that class of sacred poets in England. As such we have here considered him next to Spenser; not that there were wanting others of the same order before him. In fact, most of the distinguished names in the poetical annals of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I., might be included in the list. It may be

enough just to recollect Drayton and Cowley, Herbert, Crashaw and Quarles.

The mention of these latter names suggests the remark, how very desirable it is to encourage as indulgent and, if we may so term it, *Catholic* a spirit as may be, in poetical criticism. From having been over-praised in their own days, they are come now to be as much undervalued; yet their quaintness of manner and constrained imagery, adopted perhaps in compliance with the taste of their age, should hardly suffice to overbalance their sterling merits. We speak especially of Crashaw and Quarles; for Herbert is a name too venerable to be more than mentioned in our present discussion.

After Milton, sacred poetry seems to have greatly declined, both in the number and merit of those who cultivated it. No other could be expected from the conflicting evils of those times: in which one party was used to brand everything sacred with the name of Puritanism, and the other to suspect everything poetical of being contrary to morality and religion.

Yet most of the great names of that age, especially among the Romanists, as Dryden, Pope, and before them Habington, continued to dedicate some of their poetry to religion. By their faith they were remote from the controversies which agitated the established Church, and their devotion might indulge itself without incurring the suspicion of a fanatical spirit. Then the solemnity of their worship is fitted to inspire splendid and gorgeous strains, such as Dryden's paraphrase of the "Veni Creator;" and their own fallen fortunes in England, no less naturally, would fill them with a sense of decay very favourable to the plaintive tenderness of Habington and Crashaw.

A feeling of this kind, joined to the effect of distressing languor and sickness, may be discerned, occasionally, in the writings of Bishop Kenn; though he was far indeed from being a Romanist. We shall hardly find, in all ecclesiastical history, a greener spot than the later years of this courageous and affectionate pastor; persecuted alternately by both parties, and driven from his station in his

declining age; yet singing on, with unabated cheerfulness, to the last. His poems are not popular, nor, probably, ever will be, for reasons already touched upon; but whoever in earnest loves his three well-known hymns, and knows how to value such unaffected strains of poetical devotion, will find his account, in turning over his four volumes, half narrative and half lyric, and all avowedly on sacred subjects; the narrative often cumbrous, and the lyric verse not seldom languid and redundant: yet all breathing such an angelic spirit, interspersed with such pure and bright touches of poetry, that such a reader as we have supposed will scarcely find it in his heart to criticise them.

Between that time and ours, the form of sacred poetry which has succeeded best in attracting public attention, is the didactic: of which Davies in Queen Elizabeth's reign, Sir Richard Blackmore in King William's, Young in the middle, and Cowper in the close, of the last century, may fairly be taken as specimens, differing from each other according to the differences of their respective literary æras. Davies, with his Lucretian majesty, (although he wants the moral pathos of the Roman poet,) representing aptly enough the age of Elizabeth; Blackmore, with his easy paragraphs, the careless style of King Charles's days; Young, with his pointed sentences, transferring to graver subjects a good deal of the manner of Pope; and Cowper, with his agreeable but too unsparing descriptions, coming nearer to the present day; which appears, both in manners and in scenery, to delight in Dutch painting, rather than in what is more delicately classical.

With regard to the indirect, and, perhaps, more effective species of sacred poetry, we fear it must be acknowledged, to the shame of the last century, that there is hardly a single specimen of it (excepting, perhaps, Gray's "Elegy," and possibly some of the most perfect of Collins's poems) which has obtained any celebrity. We except the writers of our own times, who do not fall within the scope of this inquiry.

To Spenser therefore, upon the whole, the English reader

must revert, as being, pre-eminently, the sacred poet of his country: as most likely, in every way, to answer the purposes of his art; especially in an age of excitation and refinement, in which the gentler and more homely beauties, both of character and of scenery, are too apt to be despised: with passion and interest enough to attract the most ardent, and grace enough to win the most polished; yet by a silent preference everywhere inculcating the love of better and more enduring things; and so most exactly fulfilling what he has himself declared to be "the general end of all his book"—"to fashion a gentleman, or noble person, in virtuous and gentle discipline:" and going the straight way to the accomplishment of his own high-minded prayer:—

> "That with the glory of so goodly sight,
> The harts of men, which fondly here admire
> Fair-seeming shews, and feede on vain delight,
> Transported with celestial desire
> Of those fair forms, may lift themselves up higher,
> And learn to love, with zealous humble duty,
> Th' eternal fountain of that heavenly beauty."

UNPUBLISHED PAPERS OF BISHOP WARBURTON[a].

"IT is the Editor's desire to offer to the public the theological part of these papers rather as *matters of literary curiosity than as sources of theological instruction;* and he begs that he may be considered as no way committed by any statements, whether of doctrine or discipline, which may be found in them."

We consider that in this disclaimer, as well as in the general conduct of the selection before us, Mr. Kilvert has exercised a discretion highly creditable to his good sense and Catholic principles. It is just the point of view, in which the publications of Warburtonian fragments appears to us desirable. Over and above the amusement and miscellaneous knowledge, inseparable from better acquaintance with so vigorous and active a mind, pouring itself out, in general, so freely; they help to throw an instructive light on the state of the English Church, during the century in which he flourished. So far indeed, and indirectly, they may prove very valuable "sources of theological instruction." They set in a clear point of view the results of the movement, which took place in this Church and State at the close of the preceding century; and may help us to settle the question, whether it should be called the "glorious," or the "fatal," or the "excusable" revolution; and whether it is well, in interpretation of formularies, and in settling other ecclesiastical questions, to go back no farther than to it; as some persons, both in England and in Ireland, still seem to flatter themselves.

Bishop Warburton was perhaps in many respects as

[a] "A Selection from unpublished Papers of the Right Rev. William Warburton, D.D., late Lord Bishop of Gloucester. By the Rev. Francis Kilvert, M.A., late of Worcester College, Oxford."

favourable a specimen as could be selected of the philosophical and theological school of what some might be apt to call the Anglo-Hanoverian Church. (For Bishop Butler stands by himself, and Bishop Wilson was a relic of the seventeenth century.) But Warburton's learning and genius, great as they were, had not exempted him from certain *idola theatri*, the prejudices of the school of Locke, which he seems commonly to assume as first principles both in politics and in divinity. Locke's Essay is the very first book which he recommends to the student of theology, in his sketch of a course of clerical education. He calls him "the honour of this age, and the instructor of the future." He misses no opportunity of intimating his adherence and allegiance to him. So that, original as his views are in many things, he was by no means an exception to the general caste and tenor of the philosophy of that age, in which the great question was always, *cui bono*, and the presumption, previous to inquiry, was ever held to be in favour of liberty, and against self-denying faith. It may be, that his retired, unacademical education laid him the more entirely open to the impressions of the popular system; if at least it be true that old notions linger awhile in the universities of England, and make their inmates slower to learn the lessons of the time. Bearing this in mind, and separating between the natural character and the result of the age, we shall find in this volume, as in former specimens of this remarkable man's correspondence, more and more reason to regret that so much instinctive goodness and generosity of heart should have been allowed in a manner to run wild, uncorrected by the only principles which could have chastened and cherished them to perfection.

Those who know Warburton chiefly by the severe unsparing blows which he was accustomed to deal out on those who affronted him in controversy, will be agreeably surprised at one set of letters especially, which Mr. Kilvert has here given to the public. Warburton had said, in the dedication of part of the Divine Legation to Lord Mansfield [b],

[b] Vol. ii. p. 268, 4to.

"Those whom their profession has dedicated to this service, experience has taught, that the talents requisite for pushing their fortune lie very remote from such as enable men to figure in a rational defence of religion. And it is very natural to think, that in general they will be chiefly disposed to cultivate those qualities on which they see their patrons lay the greatest weight."

He adds in the next paragraph, that he has been led to make the statement of which the above is the conclusion, "for the sake of doing justice to the English clergy; who in this instance, as in many others, have been forced to bear the blame of their betters," i.e. of the several administrations since 1688, whom he had just been charging with the grossest abuse of their patronage. Now when this was published, in 1758, there was one of his readers, the Rev. Joseph Jane, student and tutor of Christ Church;—a man whom Warburton himself described as "many years very respectable for his piety, learning and great sequestration of himself;"—who, admiring Warburton's abilities greatly, yet feeling disgust at the low standard which the passage seemed to avow, took courage to write Warburton a letter of remonstrance; of which the following is a part:—

"Am I strangely mistaken, or had you that poverty of spirit to which the first beatitude is pronounced; had you at heart, Sir, that admonition of our Lord, 'How can ye believe, which receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour which cometh from God only?' did you not in sad truth, love and study 'the praise of men more than the praise of God,' when you gave way to all that train of thinking of which this is the close? 'Those whom their profession has dedicated to' (the cause of Christ, the Gospel of Salvation, the truth in the love of it, would I say) 'this service, experience has taught that the talents requisite for *pushing their fortune*' (whom are you speaking of, Sir; the ministers of Christ, or the servants of sin?) 'lie very remote from what enables men to *figure*' (in Heaven, I am sure; yea, or, truly you say well) 'in a successful defence of Revelation.'

"Dear Sir! (I speak to a brother disciple and professor) where is the conversation of a Christian? Where can it be

but in heaven? Sure I am, that as a *believer*, our character, business, and delight, is to seek, and speak, and recommend the truth in love, and at once to aim at God's glory and our own."

There is a great deal more to the same purpose, bearing, as Warburton observes to Hurd, "the mark of great candour and goodness throughout;" but expressed with a confusion and almost incoherence of thought, which might have tempted a less generous mind to a severe and crushing reply. But it was far otherwise with Warburton. The letter, though it charged him with indevotion, said not a word against his theories, or the ability with which he supported them, but on the contrary was full of compliments on his "vast genius," "prodigious learning," "singularly ingenious, inimitable productions." Whether he would have borne it as well or no, had it contravened any of his favourite speculations, we, of course, can but conjecture. As it is, his answer, of which Bishop Hurd regretted the loss, but which Mr. Kilvert has now fortunately recovered and printed, is a pattern of calmness and gentleness under the circumstances.

"I received," he writes, "the favour of yours without date, and am much edified with that appearance of piety which animates all the parts of it, and am equally indebted for your Christian charity towards me; which (as an excellent person on the like occasion well observes,) *habet nimirum hoc, ut etiam cum sævit maxime, tamen genuinæ suæ dulcedinis gustum obtineat* [c]."

He proceeds to some remarks of detail, and states his case, and then concludes as follows:—

"I confess I was not a little surprised to hear myself accused of *loving and studying the praise of men more than the glory of God*, because I supposed that among the number of those who dedicated themselves to the ministry of the gospel by ordination, according to the rites of the Church of England, many of them would have, along with their views of serving the cause of religion, a view of serving themselves, and even in that cause would endeavour to *figure* in this world as well as in

[c] p. 168.

Heaven. The severity of your censure I would suppose may arise from a mistaken zeal. I was speaking of men as I found them; you was thinking of them as they should be found: I was describing the generality: you was looking up to those few particulars whom you most admire. But let that general picture be as odious as you please, the drawer of it is not to be blamed, unless he has aggravated the features of it.

"I wish, as heartily as you do, that the *Lord's people*, meaning the ministers of Christ, *were all Prophets*, that is, less intent on their own business, and more on their Master's. But we must take men as we find them; though Christian charity requires that we should endeavour not to leave them so. Now, as such men there have been, as such there are, and such there will always be, what I aimed at was to persuade our governors, (whose principal concern it is, in imitation of Him whose substitutes they are,) to turn the perversity of men into that channel from whence glory to God might be deduced; which I conceive might be done by annexing the honours of the profession to the most eminent services performed to religion by its professors.

"But you have taken it for granted that I despise others, and especially men of your turn and character. Believe me, Sir, I am better employed. *Neminem contemno nisi meipsum.* Here I go on good ground. I know myself best. However, of all men, a sober Methodist I am least inclined to despise. If I cannot arrive at their heights, I do not malign their situation, nor would I willingly decry their spiritual endowments. I esteem Mr. John Wesley for his parts, I esteem Mr. George Whitfield for his honesty; but let me not have a captious hearer, who shall uncharitably conclude from hence that I think the one a knave and the other a blockhead. And yet more iniquitous conclusions have been drawn from my words on almost every occasion.

"Thus, Sir, whether the purpose of your letter was zeal to bear testimony to the truth; charity to advise me of my errors; or mere curiosity to know the bottom of my thoughts, I have endeavoured to satisfy you by applying myself to all these intentions; and have only now to add that I am," &c.

We please ourselves with thinking that this letter was more truly characteristic of this distinguished writer, than any of those injurious specimens of severity and sarcasm, which occur so frequently in his correspondence with

Hurd. At any rate the soft answer was effectual in this case to turn away wrath. Mr. Jane, who evidently expected a reply in a very different tone, was quite overcome by the mildness and condescension of the great controversialist's expostulation; and being afterwards settled in his diocese, as vicar of Iron-Acton, not very far from Bristol, continued always one of the most attached of his clergy.

It is pleasant, among other things, to trace in this letter the same kind of sympathy with a person whom he evidently considered poor in talent, as he shews for the poor in station, in his Sermon against "mocking the Poor[d]." Nowhere does he pour himself out more earnestly, or dart here and there, more evidently from the heart, the pointed lightnings which distinguish his fervid style. It may seem that as his weakness was love of intellectual command, so he never thought he could be kind enough to such as were not in circumstances to dispute his superiority, at least on his own ground. And it was the same with his partial attachment to his friends: he loved them, and pleaded for them, more earnestly and constantly than even for his most favourite theories. In the last sad scene of his life, when he could no longer speculate nor reason, his affectionate heart survived. The writer of these lines has been told, by one who was much with Bishop Warburton after the decay of his powers, that one day when Pope's character was being freely censured in his presence, at a time when he seemed incapable of noticing anything, he waked up in a manner suddenly, exclaimed, "Who talks against Pope? he was the best of friends and the best of men:" and so relapsed into his state of insensibility. His correspondence, that with Hurd more especially, abounds in touches of the same kind. And his first well-known dispute with Bishop Lowth terminated at once on his discovering, that the Mr. Lowth whom he had sometimes before spoken of severely in his "Julian," was his antagonist's father.

[d] Serm. iv., vol. v., p. 53.

He waved all offence at once, and told Lowth that he honoured him for his filial piety.

Another little trait worth noticing, in this affair of Mr. Jane, is Warburton's playful way of mentioning it to Hurd.

"It struck my fancy to try whether I could not soften and humanize a little this atrocious virtue; which I attempted to do in a very long answer . . . I have sent you a copy . . . that you may see and admire my proficiency in the art of conciliating the good-will of those I would cajole; and laugh at my absurdity in choosing to exercise it upon this honest Christ-Church student, instead of ministers of state[e]."

This ironical mode of sporting with his own good deeds and acts of self-controul was perhaps no doubtful indication of the deep feeling which actuated him in them.

But we have not yet done with this short correspondence. It affords illustrations of the age and school in which Warburton's lot was cast, at least as unpleasant as those of his own character are favourable. It will have been observed, that he did not think it possible for any one but a Methodist to be scandalized at a view, which supposed the great body of the clergy mainly taken up with looking after their own preferment, and that he accordingly set down his correspondent as of course a follower of Whitfield or Wesley; a conjecture, for which there appears to have been no foundation; at least the subject of it says in his concluding letter:—

"For my character, as it relates to your suspicion, I am attached to no party of any kind, nor ever was. I have affection enough to the Church of England to be a sincere member of it; and whatever surmise a single feature, viewed in this or that light, may excite, I know myself too well to suppose it possible for any man of sense to take me for a bigot or enthusiast[f]."

What must be thought of the prevalence of undisguised clerical ambition at the time, when the barely being shocked at the admission of it brought on a man the suspicion of Methodism?

[e] "Letters to Hurd," p. 276. [f] p. 176.

But indeed the biographical memoirs of that time, of whatever school in matters either of Church or State, painfully confirm the impression which this fact would make. The cases of Hoadly and of Newton are well known: the one varying his courtly epistles to ladies of rank with professions of disregard for all that can be gained on "this dirty planet;" the other listening in a manner at St. James's back stairs, and too happy when some whisper reaches him of a dignity soon to be vacant, or of an encouraging word from a courtier. Warburton's own letters are tinged with the feeling, both for himself and for Hurd—it comes quite as a matter of course: and not to travel at present beyond our record, these newly published remains have also their full share of it; there is hardly one of his correspondents who does not make some direct appeal to the same ever-intruding infirmity. We may except indeed the letters between him and Bishop Sherlock, which form on many accounts perhaps the most interesting part of the work. But when we pass from him, and come to Bishop Hare of Chichester, we presently light upon such hints as the following:—

"You have not, Sir, only my thanks for what you have done, but my sincere wishes that what was intended for the service of the public may prove also to be for your own; to which my endeavours, in any proper way, shall not be wanting[g]." "I hope not only posterity, but the present age, will do justice to so much merit, and do assure you it shall not be my fault if it do not. I only wish my power were equal to my inclination to serve you[h]."

Again, Lord Lyttelton writes to him,—

"If there ever arises in this government any regard to science, genius, and virtue, you will be called out of your retreat, and placed in the station your merit deserves."

Again, on his (Mr. Lyttelton's) coming into office on the downfall of the Walpole government:—

"Give me leave to assure you that nothing could give me more satisfaction than if any change of my fortune could put

[g] p. 95. [h] p. 117.

it more in my power to shew you with how much esteem and consideration I am &c."

Hints of this kind, how friendly soever in intention, are but a cruel sort of kindness in the end: and it seems plain, that even Warburton, though his mind was commonly set on another mode of distinction than is bestowed by "pieces of preferment," yet was by no means proof against the ill effect of such constant goading and fretting.

Another point in him, which savours of the coarseness of the age,—more, however, as it should seem, in unison with Warburton's naturally unselfish temper,—is his unsparing use both of compliment to his friends and correspondents, and of invective against his adversaries. They may be mentioned together, since both belong to the same character, and both are so much on the surface of every part of Warburton's writings, that they need only just be mentioned. One ought, we suppose, to speak with a certain degree of respect of what was so long the received practice of so many worthy and sensible people; else, it must be confessed, there does appear something exceedingly and unspeakably grotesque in the position of two persons, coolly sitting down and addressing each other with such highly-wrought periods as these:—on the one hand, "You are an extraordinary man, and will make one admire and love you, whether we will or no. Mr. Allen finds in you what he imagined (till he experienced the contrary) was in all divines, because it ought to be there:"—on the other hand, "Such and such a publication was not worth, perhaps, your owning in form; but your reputation was not concerned to suppress it. One sees in it your early warmth in the cause of virtue and public liberty, and your original way of striking out new thoughts on common subjects." Persons in the warmth of affectionate intercourse may pour themselves out in this way, now and then, as in a kind of overflowing: but one could hardly conceive, apart from experience, their deliberately making a habit of it; polishing and rounding their periods, and filing their thoughts, to make them more brilliant and effective

at the time; and, strangest of all, revising, assorting, publishing them many years afterwards. And although, doubtless, it is a kind of infatuation from which no time nor mode of human life has been exempt, yet it does appear to have been particularly prevalent in the literature of the first half of the 18th century. An evil omen for the schools of that time in respect of independence, manliness, delicacy of thought; and worse, almost, for the broad compliments they habitually endured, than for the savage, unsparing censures they occasionally uttered.

These are sometimes violent and contemptuous enough; and that with little or no provocation, e.g. "Of *this Johnson*" (the author of the Rambler), "you and I, I believe, think much alike;" which Dr. Hurd complacently illustrates by the following sentences, from a letter which his friend had inclosed to him:—

"The remarks he makes in every page on my Commentaries are full of insolence and malignant reflections, which had they not in them as much folly as malignity, I should have had reason to be offended with. As it is, I think myself obliged to him in thus setting before the public so many of my notes, with his remarks upon them; for though I have no great opinion of that trifling part of the public which pretends to judge of this part of literature, in which boys and girls decide, yet I think nobody can be mistaken in this comparison; though I think their thoughts have never yet extended thus far as to reflect, that to discover the corruption in an author's text, and by a happy sagacity to restore it to sense, is no easy task; but when the discovery is made, then to cavil at the conjecture, to propose an equivalent, and defend nonsense, by producing out of the thick darkness it occasions, a weak and faint glimmering of sense (which has been the business of this Editor throughout), is the easiest, as well as dullest, of all literary efforts[1]."

By way of further illustration, we are tempted to produce, though to the reader, probably for the twentieth time, part of the passage in Johnson's Preface, in which he adverts to Warburton's edition:—

[1] "Letters to Hurd," p. 367.

"Of the last Editor, it is more difficult to speak. Respect is due to high place, tenderness to living reputation, and veneration to genius and learning; but he cannot be justly offended at that liberty of which he has himself so frequently given an example, nor very solicitous what is thought of notes, which he ought never to have considered as part of his serious employments, and which, I suppose, since the ardour of composition is remitted, he no longer numbers among his happy effusions.

"The original and predominant error of his commentary is acquiescence in his first thoughts; that precipitation which is produced by consciousness of quick discernment; and that confidence which presumes to do, by surveying the surface, what labour only can perform by penetrating the bottom. His notes exhibit sometimes perverse interpretations, and sometimes improbable conjectures; he at one time gives the author more profundity of meaning than the sentence admits; and at another discovers absurdities, where the sense is plain to every other reader. But his emendations are likewise often happy and just; and his interpretation of obscure passages learned and sagacious.

"Of his notes, I have commonly rejected those against which the general voice of the public has exclaimed, or which their own incongruity immediately condemns, and which, I suppose, the author himself would desire to be forgotten. Of the rest, to part I have given the highest approbation, by inserting the offered reading in the text; part I have left to the judgment of the reader, as doubtful though specious; and part I have censured without reserve, but I am sure without bitterness of malice, and I hope without wantonness of insult."

And then he proceeds to moralize, so as that no one can mistake his drift, which evidently was the satisfying Warburton himself, on the melancholy imperfection of human knowledge, and how it ever causes "great part of the labour of every writer" to be "only the destruction of those that went before him." Nor would it be easy to find out any note in his volume, in which he has deviated from this tone, of respect and unwillingness, where he had to censure.

On the whole, if, as some have thought, any school or set of principles may be most fairly judged of by its leading disciples and professors, those who share in John-

son's High-Church prejudices, rather than in Warburton's more popular views, may contemplate as some advantage to their cause the great contrast in tone and temper, exhibited by these two distinguished men, when they happen to interfere with each other. If Johnson's Catholicism must bear the blame, as it sometimes does, of what is accounted melancholy and slavish in his thoughts, in all fairness let it have the benefit also of his superior courtesy and charity on this trying occasion.

'We will add a specimen or two more of Warburton's way of putting down those whom posterity has delighted to honour:—

"At Oxford, like the ancient Pagans, they are only for deifying their dead kings. One Horne, of Magdalen, has preached at St. Mary's the last 30th of January sermon, in which he defends the old parallel in favour of Charles the First. This *Horn-work*, raised against all attacks upon that sacred character, may truly be called a *Bull-work*. He tells his audience I am worse than his murderers, for saying he risked his crown with great complaisancy of conscience in support of Episcopacy. If anything could be fancied to exceed this their enormity, it must be a supposition, were such a supposition possible, that this noble attachment to the Church should be sneered at by a churchman of that high order, for whose preservation he resisted even unto blood. But what then? The authors of the Revolution are worse still; for he calls *the doctrine of resistance to Government, a diabolic doctrine.*" (Bishop Horne's expression really is, 'To eradicate out of the minds of men those diabolical principles of resistance to government in Church and State, which brought his sacred head to the block.') "And if ever there was resistance to Government, it was when a few people called over the Prince of Orange to turn out King and Parliament, and the army on Hounslow Heath. But the surprising part of the affair is, that Brown, the Vice-Chancellor, should give his *imprimatur* to all this insult on the present Constitution[k]."

The fact is, Horne had ventured, both expressly, and by several allusions, to remonstrate in this sermon against something in one of the Bishop of Gloucester's, preached

[k] Mr. Kilvert's Selection, p. 263.

the year before to the House of Lords. Warburton had in effect ascribed the breaking up of the treaty to the king's implacable mind.

"The patriots plainly understood they had mortally offended a vindictive king; for though the martyrs could forgive, yet the monarch was of a different temper; and that, sooner or later, they or their families might fall a sacrifice to his resentment[l]."

It seems to have been in allusion to this sentence that Bishop Horne said,—

"When we consider what sort of enemies he had, and yet how mild and gracious he shewed himself in all his dealings with them, which they took care to repay as such men always do: we cannot but be much surprised to see, in one of the latest discourses published on this occasion, the epithet of *unforgiving* applied to him; and find ourselves in a manner irresistibly compelled to suppose it an error of the press[m]."

Again, Warburton, in the opening of his sermon, had talked of "comparisons impiously invented" as a blemish in the observance of that memorable day; hinting, as it seemed, his own acquiescence in the shallow sentiment which sometimes makes people object to the reference, made by the Second Lesson and the Gospel, to our Lord's own Passion: *shallow*, we make bold to call it, in all who consider the king's death as a real martyrdom in any sense, since it proceeds on neglect of that deepest Christian principle, of the Communion of Saints,—our Lord really suffering in his members; when, moreover, that principle is brought strongly before us by the providential fact of the chapter of the Passion, the 27th of St. Matthew, being the regular lesson for the day in the Church of England. However, Mr. Horne in his sermon dwelt much on the justification of this topic, expressly stating as his reason, that

"exception had been taken at discourses on this day's occasion, as well as at some parts of the church service appointed for it, on account of their instituting what have been termed *impious comparisons* between our Lord and the royal martyr."

[l] Works, v. 309. [m] Horne's Works, III, 411. Ed. 1818.

Again, Warburton had said in his *tranchant* way,—

"what was only policy in James, became religion in the martyr Charles; and king-craft is made of much more ductile stuff than church bigotry."

Evidently it was this which gave occasion to Horne's protest:—

"This most Christian king regarded the Church as the spouse of Christ, for whom He disdained not to shed His most precious blood; and the Church of England as that portion of this Church, of which himself was appointed the guardian and protector. It was not through *church bigotry* or *pious prejudice* that he was firmly attached to her constitution, but from a full and thorough conviction of its rectitude and conformity to the apostolical model."

Further on, he proposes to amend the terms *Patriot* and *Puritan*, with which Warburton had qualified the coalition of the king's enemies, by changing them into *Rebel* and *Schismatic*. Altogether it is not hard to imagine the scorn and wrath with which this old-fashioned descant would be received by the great champion of liberal principles: and it is amusing to see how quietly he dismisses it, little dreaming that its author would hold a place in the estimation of future times, more enviable surely, though of course not so high, in a literary sense, as his own.

On the most celebrated of Warburton's controversies, that with Bishop Lowth, occasioned by a difference of opinion on the origin of the Book of Job, one only remark shall be made here: that, unlike the two former cases, the offence in it was given by a writer of the same school, generally speaking, in religion and politics, with Warburton himself. For Lowth was patronized by Bishop Hoadly, and in his dedication to the Life of Wykeham, professes that "he shall always esteem himself highly honoured in having once enjoyed the patronage of the great advocate of civil and religious liberty." But this did not win him any favour at Warburton's hands, nor shelter him from the well known imputation of having been bred up in "the keen atmo-

sphere of wholesome severities." In vain had he put his antagonist in mind of their common Whiggism, professing himself "a staunch republican and a zealous Protestant in literature," who would "never bear with a perpetual dictator, or an infallible pope, whose decrees are to be submitted to without appeal, and to be received with implicit assent. *Manus hæc*, so he goes on, *inimica tyrannis*. My favourite principle is the liberty of prophesying, and I will maintain it with my last breath[n]." This appeal, however elegant and reasonable, to the great revolution principles, was apparently thrown away upon Warburton: on the next ground of offence that arose, he was prepared without ceremony to set its author down as a dunce.

"*Answerers by profession*, was a title I ventured formerly to give to these polemic divines; and the dunces of that time said I meant the lawyers. I lately spoke of *the keen atmosphere of wholesome severities*, meaning the high-church principle of persecution, disguised by the *professors* of it against Mr. Locke, under the name of *wholesome severities*; and the dunces of this time say, I meant Winchester and Oxford[o]."

Poor Dr. Lowth! his liberal education and politics could not excuse him for questioning, without some very particular and laudatory apology, any portion of the argument of the Divine Legation; and it may be that he fared all the worse, notwithstanding the above disclaimer, for his connection with Oxford, which had no very long time before declined making Mr. Warburton a doctor.

Why are we dwelling so much at length upon the weaknesses of distinguished persons, to whom sacred literature is under so great obligations? Because we cannot but think that in these cases especially the age may have been chiefly to blame; and it is a great point for men's instruction, to be provided with as complete a draught as possible of the character which belongs to this or that set of opinions. Now it was the tendency of that divinity which came in fashion at the Revolution to deny the supernatural and invisible; and of the corresponding philosophy, that of

[n] In Warburton's Works, vii. 1010. [o] "Letters to Hurd," 372.

Locke, to make all evidence traceable to the five senses; and the consequence naturally was, that external tangible goods, such as fame and preferment, would be allowed to take up more room in our thoughts than they probably would have done under a severer system. Warburton himself was well aware of one exceedingly ill effect, which the political events of the beginning of the last century had upon the Church and theology of England. The passage is that, the tone of which so grievously disgusted Mr. Jane. It is long, but worth quoting, for the confirmation it gives to some recent statements, which the admirers of the English Revolution are slow to believe. Warburton is professing to trace the steps of the prevailing irreligion, which he is ever complaining of, in common with most of his contemporaries.

"The most painful circumstance in this relation is (as your lordship," Lord Mansfield, "will feel), that the mischief began amongst our friends: by men who loved their country, but were too eagerly intent on one part only of their object, the security of its civil liberty. To trace up this matter to its source, we need go no further back than to the happy accession of that illustrious house, to whom we owe all which is in the power of grateful monarchs, at the head of a free people, to bestow; I mean, the full enjoyment of the common rights of subjects.

"It fortuned that at this time some warm friends of the accession, newly gotten into power, had too hastily perhaps expected that the Church (or at least that party of Churchmen which had usurped the name) was become inauspicious to the sacred æra from which we were to date the establishment of our civil happiness; and therefore deemed it good policy to lessen the credit of a body of men, who had been long in high reverence with the people, and who had so lately and so scandalously abused their influence in the opprobrious affair of Sacheverell. To this end they invited some learned men, who in the preceding reign had served the common cause, to take up the pen once more against its most pestilent enemies, the Jacobite clergy. They readily assumed the task, and did it so effectually, that under the professed design of confuting and decrying the usurpations of a popish hierarchy, they virtually deprived the Church of every power and privilege, which, as a simple society, she had a claim

to; and upon the matter, delivered her gagged and bound, as the rebel creature of the State.

"But this was not the worst. These enemies of obnoxious churchmen found much assistance in the forward carriage of the enemies of religion itself; who at this time, under pretence of seconding the views of good patriots, and securing the state against the encroachments of church power, took all occasions to vent their malice against revelation itself; and passion, influenced by opposition, mixing with politics throughout the course of this affair, these lay-writers were connived at, and to mortify rebellious churchmen still more, even cried up for their free reasonings against religion, just as the clergy writers had been, for their exploits against church government. And one man in particular, the author of a well-known book called the Independent Whig, early a favourite, and to the last a pensioner, carried on, in the most audacious and insulting manner, these two several attacks together .... Certain it is, that the attack never ceased operating till all these various kinds of free-writing were gotten into the hands of the people.

"But .... our politicians were so little apprehensive that the matter had already gone too far, that they thought of nothing but how to improve some collateral advantages they had procured by the bargain; which, amongst other uses, they saw likewise, would be sure to keep things in the condition to which they were reduced. For now religion having lost its hold on the people, the ministers of religion were of no further consequence to the state; nor were statesmen any longer under the hard necessity of seeking out the most eminent for the honours of their profession .... All went now according to their wishes. They could now employ church honours more directly to the use of government, i.e. of their own, by conferring them on such subjects as most gratified their taste or humour, or served best to strengthen their connexions with the great. This would of course give the finishing stroke to their system. For though stripping the Church of all power and authority, and exposing it naked and defenceless to its enemies, abated men's reverence for it; and the detecting revelation of imposture, serving only for a state engine, had destroyed all love for religion; yet they were the intrigues of church promotion, which would make people despise the whole ordinance [p]."

[p] T. ii. 265—268, 4to.

We can hardly be wrong in accepting this as an instinctive confession, on unequivocal authority, of the results of the famous settlement of the last century on the influence of the Church, and of Christianity itself, among us. But there was another set of evil consequences, on which he hardly touches: it was not only that the faith was far less generally received, but also that the defenders of it took far lower ground than heretofore. There was deterioration within as well as weakness without. We have been giving evidence of this in the practical notions, which churchmen, some of the most respectable, were constantly avowing: now let us consider a little in what ways it was likely, if not certain, to vitiate theology. First, it is obvious that the evidences of the Gospel, technically so called — its external outworks — would, under such circumstances, engross and absorb many minds, which might be much more profitably employed on the substance of the faith itself, and its application to the various maladies of the soul. This, it will be sufficient just to have mentioned; it being a matter which has of late been largely elucidated.

Then there was not only a great chance of certain momentous matters being neglected, but there was added a kind of positive repulsion between most churchmen's prejudices and feelings and the mysterious parts of the Church's doctrine, its sacramental observances, and supernatural claims. *Cui bono?* was the first question, after stating the subject of any inquiry. A calculating spirit was brought into these gravest of discussions: the intended drift and bearing of all things, even the most unquestioned church rules, or expositions of Scripture was ever wanted to be made out. A taste, which suited better with Warburton's restless ingenuity, and eager desire to explain and account for all things, than with the obedient simplicity of ancient Catholics; among whom the ὅτι was the great thing; *that* being credibly made out, they had no need of the διοτι. Add to this, that there was a prevalent disposition to be very political in all their speculations: to look towards nations and other masses of men,

for reasons and results of the supposed conduct of the Deity: and there were exaggerated notions of the value of liberty, as such, which forced themselves into several parts of theology, and, as may be suspected, greatly lowered men's views on many things, without their dreaming of it.

It is not, perhaps, very hard to see, how these circumstances affected, more or less, the conception and execution, the fortunes and eventual utility of Bishop Warbarton's great work, With all its overflowings of learning and eloquence, of anecdote, and pointed sayings, and ingenious reasoning, the reading of it, we suspect, proves to very many rather a wearisome task: and that (we say it not invidiously) the more as they are more imbued with Catholic feelings, more used to devotional reading, more used to let faith go before in all their inquiries on sacred subjects. And in saying this we do not so much allude to anything in the Bishop's mode of handling his argument, or to any expression of his own mind and temper, as to something inherent in the very argument itself. It has, of course, the common inconvenience of all apologetic works and statements of evidence; that it puts the believer's mind in an unnatural position, requiring of him to look at things, for the time, with an unbeliever's eye. But the evil is peculiarly felt in this case, by reason of the extraordinary length and reach of the discussion, and of its taking us far and wide into regions, very remote at first sight, from the holy ground of the Gospel. Not that we would exclude such subjects from Christian instruction; the difference would rather be in our mode of introducing them. As we find them treated in the Divine Legation, the effect is too much like the painful overstraining of the sight, which would be felt, were any one purposely to remove himself from an object to the extreme point of distinct vision, and there continue gazing on it. He would leave off with aching eyes, and with a feeling that he had rather been learning how much those eyes would bear, than acquiring any real and satisfactory knowledge of the object.

And this effect in the particular instance is further

aggravated, if we mistake not, by the political cast of the whole disputation: which allows, nay requires, the widest possible range through the history of laws and government. It appeals not, like some other branches of evidence, (that, for example, which Paley treats of,) to our natural feeling how an individual would act under certain circumstances, but to a long and learned induction of the practices of public men and political societies. The suspense, therefore, in which it would hold the mind, is made the more irksome, in that it has not, as in the other case, an instinctive feeling accompanying it, what the result of the inquiry must be: neither are the details of ancient legislation, through which it leads us, of the same invigorating and refreshing cast as those of the history of the apostolic Churches, which constitute the thread of the common historical argument, whereby the evil effect of that argument, as an apology, is greatly mitigated.

It may be said, and has been, that the same sort of objection lies, in an equal if not superior degree, against the work of Warburton's greatest contemporary; that *it* also takes us to a painful distance, and there bids us contemplate things, instead of permitting us to enjoy the truth as we have it. But (not to go deeper at present) is there not this great and obvious distinction, that the Analogy is altogether a practical work: a work which aims not at satisfying the mind, but at forming the heart, and guiding the conduct, though the mind should remain unsatisfied? It contains, therefore, in every page what may serve to restrain or encourage men, not only in the unhappy case of general perplexity as to the truth of religion, but also in any particular matter of doctrine or conduct, more or less grave, on which their conscience may need guidance. All persons, therefore, are interested in it, except those rare and fortunate beings, who neither have any doubt themselves in religious matters, nor know of any so troubled, for whom in justice or charity they are bound to think.

But with Warburton's theme the case is very different. It can hardly be said to come home at once to any man's

business and bosom, excepting, indeed, that of a statesman or legislator; and this accords well enough with the fact, that it seems to have excited greater interest among lawyers and politicians, and those in general who have to treat with the Church as it is *established*, than with those who have been used to contemplate it only or chiefly as it is true and divine. To the latter class the inquiry about the Mosaic sanctions would seem, at first sight, an insulated point, in regard of which they might well be content to remain ignorant or doubtful: it was enough for them to know that "the old Fathers did not look only for transitory promises," from whatever quarter their better hope arose.

And it would not, perhaps, greatly prepossess them in favour of this new argument, when they found that it claimed to be no less than a matter of *demonstration*; not such a "moral demonstration" as Bishop Taylor had constructed, by bringing together in few words, from their several sources in known history and experience, that famous "conjugation of probabilities," whereof though each one severally might be evaded, the combined effect is "to possess all the understanding, and fill all the corners of consideration;" but Warburton's demonstration is contained in one single syllogism, yet pretends to something "very little short of mathematical certainty," and to "admit of no opposition, but of a bare physical possibility of the contrary:" phrases of themselves sufficient to startle and discourage practical men, since all such have learned, that "probability," not demonstration, "is the very guide of life."

Further: as the bare statement of the main argument shews at once that we are to be taken into the regions of political discussion, so the writer's manner throughout evinces that he feels himself peculiarly at home there: he will not take you along with him, unless you are so much of an Englishman as to give to politics a part of that vehement interest, which a *consistent* Christian, perhaps, would feel for religion and the Church alone. Nay more, you must be so much of a revolution Whig

as to take for granted the distinguishing tenets of that school, as supposed to be proved by Mr. Locke and others: as the original contract between king and people, of which we are to believe the foundation of the Jewish theocracy was an instance, in what Warburton calls the Horeb contract, as described in the nineteenth chapter of Exodus. Another instance is, the so-called doctrine of toleration, which is assumed, in order to argue from it that idolatry must have been punished among the Jews as an offence not against God *as* God, but as their temporal king. And a third and more remarkable one is the unscrupulous exaltation of civil and religious liberty, which, after all, is but a blessing of this world, into almost a co-ordinate object with those which the Gospel sets before us. Thus, in a passage before produced, he seems to think it a sort of apology for the godless policy adopted at the Hanoverian accession, that "the mischief was done by men who loved their country, but were too eagerly intent on one part only of their object—the security of its civil liberty." Perhaps it may seem a still stronger example, that he hesitated not to apply the sacred and mysterious words of St. Paul, *Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty*, to the transient earthly enjoyment of a free constitution: telling us, that it is "one of the nobler sort" of blessings implied by the term *liberty* in the text: and enouncing what follows, as a material part of the meaning of the apostolic words.

"Above all, that grandeur and elevation of mind, that sublimity of sentiment, that conscious dignity of human nature, which true religion raises, which Holy Scripture dictates, and which the Spirit of the Lord inspires, will be ever pushing us forward to the attainment of those civil rights, which, we have been taught to know by reason, are ours, and which, we have been made to feel by experience, of all others are the most necessary to our happiness."

One may question whether there is not almost as great a perversion—may we not say *desecration*?—of the holy words, in this sentence, as in the almost ludicrous

application which he had made a few months before of a verse of the Prophet Joel to the Highland army in England. "I will remove far off from you the northern army, and will drive him into a land barren and desolate."

However, in this overweening talk of human dignity and civil liberty, Warburton was but following the fashionable *quasi-idolatry* of that era; perhaps we might say, of our country, for a century and a half: a superstition not confined to any one school in theology, as may appear by the well-known lines of a writer who differed from Warburton in almost all but this.

> "O most degrading of all ills that wait
> On man, a mourner in his best estate!
> All other sorrows virtue may endure,
> And find submission more than half a cure:
> But *slavery!*—virtue dreads it as her grave:
> *Patience itself is meanness in a slave.*"

These were the sentiments of the eighteenth century: we see what they have produced, and are likely to produce, in the nineteenth. If any one would wish to compare them with those of the first, full information is at hand. "Art thou called being a slave? care not for it: but even if thou mayest be made free, submit to it rather: *ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ δυνάσαι ἐλεύθερος γίνεσθαι, χρῆσαι μᾶλλον.*" St. Chrysostom's remark on this is,—

> "Astonishing! where has he put slavery? As circumcision profits not, and uncircumcision does no harm, so neither doth slavery, nor yet liberty. And that he might point out this with surpassing clearness, he says, *But even if thou canst become free, use it rather:* i.e. rather continue a slave. Now upon what possible ground does he tell the person who might be set free to remain a slave? He means to point out that slavery is no harm, but rather an advantage."

But to return to Warburton: there is another circumstance, besides this excessive care of earthly liberty, very apparent in his treatment of his great argument, as indeed in all his works; a circumstance, which is apt to annoy sincere and simple minds, and prejudice them

against him altogether: and that is, the great comparative forbearance which he exercises, towards some of his opponents, who were infidels or near it; while to others, who might err, but were most unwilling to be even heretics—much less to throw aside religion—he hardly observes the rules of common courtesy. Mr. Kilvert, after Bishop Hurd, has remarked this in regard of Dr. Middleton particularly. Middleton had long before, in controversy with Waterland and Pearce, said some things (to use Bishop Hurd's guarded expression) "which gave occasion to suspect him of a leaning towards infidelity." Among these "suspicious" things, he had treated "the Mosaic account of the fall as a mystical fable; and had ridiculed, in every variety of contemptuous expression, its literal interpretation." . . . He had recommended "moderate and qualified sentiments concerning the divine origin of the Jewish religion, and the divine inspiration of its founder, Moses; which will otherwise, he said, prove a stumbling-block to men of understanding[q]." The account of the confusion at Babel he also gave up, as unworthy of credit. He recommended a plan of defending Christianity,

"grounded almost entirely upon hypothetical concessions to the Deists; in order to convince them, that should we allow Christianity to be a mere imposture, on a level only with all the other impostures that have obtained in the world, it would not be difficult to shew from the dictates of reason, that an attempt to overturn it, as it is now established by law, derived from our ancestors, confirmed by the belief and practice of so many ages, must be criminal and immoral. Upon this notable plan," concludes Bishop Van Mildert, "the author would undertake to build the only defence of Christianity that men of reason and understanding can approve."

Notwithstanding this and a great deal more, Warburton went out of his way, in the Preface to the first edition of the "Divine Legation," to speak of Middleton as not only a candid and respectable writer, but as one of the most formidable adversaries the Freethinkers had. This

[q] Bishop Van Mildert, "Life of Waterland," p. 162.

he did, as he himself says, in the hope of reclaiming Middleton by gentle treatment: but it proved fruitless, and he was content afterwards, on some new offence, silently to drop his acquaintance, and to erase the ill-advised sentence from the Preface or rather Dedication in question. In the meantime it was no great wonder, that an intimacy thus persisted in and expressed drew upon Warburton himself unpleasant suspicions.

His constant mode of speaking of Bayle, whose scepticism is notorious, might be considered another case of the like questionable partiality. Never was admiration more eloquently expressed than in the few brilliant sentences in which Warburton sums up his character :—

"Mr. Bayle, the last supporter of this paradox" (that atheism is not of course destructive to society) "is of a very different character from these Italian sophists. A writer, who to the utmost strength and clearness of reasoning, hath added all the liveliness and delicacy of wit: who, pervading human nature at his ease, struck into the province of paradox, as an exercise for the unwearied vigour of his mind; who with a soul superior to the sharpest attacks of fortune, and a heart practised to the best philosophy, had not yet enough of real greatness to overcome that last foible of superior minds, the temptation of honour, which the academic exercise of wit is conceived to bring to its professors."

What a pity for both parties, that the subject of this brilliant and truly classical eulogy should have been one, who gloried in anything rather than in faith! whose whole writings were more or less openly directed against Catholic sentiments and principles!

Further: while Warburton dealt thus amicably with sceptics, who were opposed to him *de summa rerum*, he resented, we have seen how angrily and scornfully, the remonstrances of such as Lowth and Johnson, concerning mere points of criticism, on which comparatively little or nothing depended. Was there not some real temptation to doubt his sincerity? although, as we now know for certain, without real cause.

Now we conceive that in this sort of indulgence to irreligious philosophy, besides what there might be of unconscious vanity, the defender of Christianity was influenced by the political axioms in which he had been bred. The idea of Toleration extended itself to his intercourse with them, literary and social. An honest abhorrence of their society and writings, on account of the false and impious conclusions they came to, would have been felt by him as a kind of persecution for opinion. In the cases of Bolingbroke and Voltaire it was otherwise: besides the outrageous conclusion, there was every kind of unfairness, scurrility and ribaldry, in their mode of managing their argument: and with this Middleton, to any great extent, could not yet be charged, for his "Free Enquiry into the Miraculous Powers of the Primitive Church" was not yet published. Warburton therefore gave him the full benefit both of his personal acquaintance with himself, and of his comparative decency of manner. Of course there was something amiable in this, but that it was a mistaken kindness, there can now be little doubt. Besides the instinct of friendliness, his object was,

"if possible, to draw his friend off from that bias, which his passions rather than his judgment, he conceived, had impressed upon him, by putting the fairest constructions on his writings, and by affecting to understand them in the most favourable sense[r]."

The event, as far as regards Middleton himself, is recorded in Warburton's own words, from a letter written just before Middleton's death:—

"I am much concerned for the poor man, and wish he may recover with all my heart. Had he had, I will not say piety, but greatness of mind enough, not to suffer the pretended injuries of some Churchmen to prejudice him against religion, I should love him living, and honour his memory when dead. But, good God! that man, for the discourtesies done him by his miserable fellow-creatures, should be content to divest himself

[r] Hurd's "Life of Warburton," p. 22.

of the true viaticum, the comfort, the solace, the asylum from all the evils of human life, is perfectly astonishing[a]."

We transcribe this sentiment the rather, because it seems to shew that Warburton's separation from Middleton, which had taken place long before, arose not, as might seem at first sight, from any casual differences or minor points, but from an instinctive feeling that the one was too earnest a believer, the other too near to unbelief, to allow of solid friendship continuing between them. Here, as in other respects, it may be regretted that Warburton was not bred up in a severer and more primitive school: a school which would have taught him that acute speculation, candid and courteous demeanour, a high standing in literature, and other such recommendations, made no difference in the substantial duty of reserve towards those who had openly attacked the Creed or the Church of Christ. "If any man come unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed." The Apostle makes no exception in favour of ingenious reasoning, or courteous language: the one thing he bids us look to is the correspondence or disagreement of the doctrine with the Creed of the Church. If Warburton had been taught to understand and obey him literally, either his intercourse with Middleton would have come sooner to an end, and the "Divine Legation" and its author would have been saved all the scandal and embarrassment, inseparable from association with him: or Middleton himself might have been led to more serious thought; at least, his irreverent tendencies would have lacked that encouragement, which in such cases is always derived from the continued favourable notice of one or two serious and orthodox persons, marring the effect of the reserve practised by others. But Warburton individually is not to be blamed for this want of charitable austerity: it was the manner of his age, and of the friends to whom he would naturally defer when he first became known as

[a] "Letters to Hurd," p. 55.

a divine. Observe the tone in which Bishop Hare of Chichester writes of this same Middleton :—

"I have been told he looked on me as an enemy, in being against some preferments he has been pushing for, though indeed without reason. It is true I was for other persons, but without having heard, or in the least suspecting, that he was a competitor: though, indeed, had I known it, I should in my judgment have been against him; not from any ill-will to him, but *because I truly think no one thing can hurt the King and his government more, than distinguishing by his favours men marked for heterodoxy or infidelity*. Nothing has more alienated the minds of the University, Clergy, and serious Christians, than the jealousies that have been long entertained of this kind. *And this is the single reason that I should be against Dr. M.'s promotion by the Crown:* who is certainly *an ingenious man*, and has *a fine pen*[t]."

This letter suggests a great many serious thoughts: but we will not trust ourselves at present to make any further remark on it, than that it sets Warburton's own conduct and sentiments in a very favourable point of view. Never, when at the lowest in point of Catholicity, shall we find him countenancing the notion that "a fine pen," and the good of the House of Hanover, were to be adopted by an English government, as the only or chief measures of capability for preferment in the Church. Indeed we have seen how earnestly he complained of this very tendency in the Whig ministers of that day: in this respect as in several others, rising above the notions of the school, into which circumstances had first thrown him; and taking his place among those who might be called the salt of our Church in that time of decay, and helped, by God's mercy, to preserve it from entire secularization.

One thing which tended to this happy effect, as may be reasonably thought, was his intimacy with Bishop Sherlock, whose correspondence with him on the argument of the "Divine Legation" constitutes the first and most instructive portion of these select "Remains." But not even

[t] "Remains," pp. 101, 102.

to Sherlock, when writing to him about Middleton, does it seem to have occurred that a defender of Christianity was put in a false position altogether, by continuing in unreserved intimacy with so irreverent a speculator.

To return to the argument of the "Divine Legation," from which we have been carried too far by the mention of the prejudice excited against it, on account of some whom the author appeared to favour. Both Sherlock and Warburton himself appear to have apprehended, that its reception in the first instance would be greatly damaged by its appearing in parts: and so no doubt it was. Yet so far as we are now in possession of the whole frame of his work, by help of the summaries in the Fragment of the Ninth Book, and elsewhere; it may be questioned whether an equal prejudice will not arise in a considerate believer's mind, on finding himself called on to contemplate and admit so very complete a scheme: a system which professes to leave little or nothing unexplained in the great dispensation of the Gospel, and to be, in many important respects, new: new in theology, in the same sense as the Newtonian discoveries were new in physics. These two pretensions he puts forth in so many words, in the introduction to the Ninth Book:—

"A method of inquiry, whereby, *from the various genius*, *the comparative excellence*, the *mutual dependence*, the *reciprocal illustration* of the several parts of God's moral dispensation to mankind, and the gradual progress of the whole towards perfection, *great discoveries* have been made in these latter times."

And again,—

"If in these times, the advances in the knowledge of God's will should haply prove as considerable as those in the discovery of His works, it will not be beside a reasonable expectation."

Now are not these strange and startling words, to those who set out with such maxims as, *quod primum verum*, and "the faith was once for all delivered to the saints?" And is it not, even in philosophy, a dangerous process, to assume, as this mode of reasoning appears to do, that

the apparent perfection of a system, its accounting for all the facts of the case, sufficiently proves it to be true?

"A successful search," he says, "after religious truths, can be then only expected when we erect our system upon facts,—acknowledged facts, as they are recorded in Sacred Scripture. For if the dispensation to which such facts belong be indeed from God, all the parts of it will *be seen to be* the correspondent members of one entire whole; *which orderly disposition of things, essential to a religious system, will assure us of the true theory of the Christian Faith.*"

All this has an intricate philosophical air, not very obviously suited to the setting forth of those things, which were of set purpose hid from the wise and prudent, and revealed unto babes; and in professing to explain so much, it has almost (we would say it not invidiously) an *empirical* sound, not well calculated to attract those who have had experience of man's ignorance, and of the deep mystery into which all supernatural knowledge is sure soon to withdraw itself.

Besides, there are in this summary of the great writer's religious theory several propositions requiring very distinct proof, since at first sight they appear to contradict either Scripture, the Church, or experience: yet they are almost taken for granted, and what is more perplexing, assent to them is enforced in such a tone, as if without them the Gospel would not stand. For instance; that the image of God, in which man was first created, lay in the faculty of reason only[u]: whereas the Apostle seems to tell us that a main part of it at least was *righteousness and true holiness;* supernatural goodness, like that to which our Lord restores us by His grace: and Bishop Bull[x] has produced abundant testimonies of Christian antiquity in proof of that interpretation.

Yet, says Warburton,—

"This natural state of man, antecedent to the Paradisaical, can never be too carefully kept in mind, *nor too precisely explained:* since it is the very key, or clew, which is to open to us, and to

[u] Works, vol. iii. 620. [x] "On the State of Man before the Fall."

lead us through all the recesses and intimacies of the last, and compleated, dispensation of God to man; a dispensation long become intricate and perplexed, by men's neglecting to distinguish between these two states and conditions; which, as we say, if not constantly kept in mind, *the Gospel can neither be well understood nor reasonably supported.*"

Again, he affirms it as a truth of natural religion, that "on repentance and amendment, God will pardon, and be reconciled to offenders[y]." Now this, as Bishop Butler has shewn at large, is far from being borne out by the analogy of God's natural government; nor does it seem clearly to follow from Warburton's own hypothesis. The sanctions of natural religion, according to that hypothesis, (and we do not wish to dispute it,) are indefinite: *some* reward for the obedient and dutiful, *some* penalty for disobedience; how does this shew that repentance must ensure reconciliation? Would not mere mitigation of punishment be as much as we could dare to expect? Yet of this doctrine also, of the natural efficacy of repentance, Warburton says,—

"that it is founded on the clear principle, that, taking in the whole of a good man's existence, God will bestow on him more of happiness than of misery: to deny which, will tend to confound our distinct ideas of a good and of an evil governor of the world."

Again; it is a main link in Warburton's chain of doctrine, and one of the great distinctions he would establish between Natural and Revealed Religion, that the condition of God's favour in the one is moral, in the other positive, obedience.

"*Moral virtue* was the condition of that favour and protection which the creature, man, *claims* from his Maker; but the observance of a *positive command* was the condition of the *free gift* of immortality."

Such words as "claim" are perhaps better avoided when we are speaking of what man, antecedent to express

[y] Warburton, iii. 627.

promise, may expect from God. But the startling circumstance in this portion of Warburton's theory is his making Faith, the Faith which justifies and saves, Faith in Christ crucified and in the Most Holy Trinity, a positive, not a moral duty: while the common feelings of men rather surely respond to the statement of his greatest contemporary: "The office of our Lord being made known, and the relation He stands in to us, the obligation of religious regards to Him is plainly moral; as much as charity to mankind is[z]:" with much more to the same purpose: which all of it seems so undeniable, that when we return from it to Warburton's speculation, we feel as if the difficulty must have occurred to him, and search anxiously for some explanation: the rather, as Bishop Butler's view is warranted by the addresses of the Prophets: "If I be a Father, where is Mine honour? and if I be a Master, where is My fear?" and by the many Parables in which our Lord represents Himself as a Shepherd, a Householder, the Master of a Feast; and in other relations, such as are commonly supposed to bring with them serious obligations, antecedent to express command. If one had to deal with a less acute mind than Warburton's, one might almost be tempted to suspect here some confusion, between Faith as the *condition* upon which God grants His favour, and the same Faith as the *instrument* by which we apprehend it. In that latter sense indeed it may be, to our understanding, a kind of positive, sacramental ordinance, conveying or continuing our union with Jesus Christ in a sense in which other Christian graces do not so. But if the obligation to it arise, as it seems to do, necessarily out of the Redeemer's relation to His redeemed, one does not see how it can ever be separated from its moral nature.

These are all material points in that "attempt to explain the true nature and genius of the Christian religion," to which Bishop Warburton had been continually referring his readers, while his work was in its first imperfect state, for satisfaction in obvious difficulties: points, which seem

[z] "Anal.," p. ii. c. 1.

to require a good deal of explanation, but are left without any, and without any apparent consciousness of such need on their author's part. Is it improbable that many may have been deterred by them from proceeding to study the earlier parts of the work, and prejudiced against the author's views in general; not simply as a lover of paradox and novelty, but as one on whose guidance they found they could not rely, on account of his seeming, from time to time, quite unaware of the difficulty of the ground he was conducting them over?

Considering all these and other obstacles, some of them no doubt far more unfair and unreasonable, the main argument of the "Divine Legation" made its way, perhaps, on the whole quite as rapidly as could be expected. It would be correct, we suppose, to say, that with certain modifications—such, e.g. as are stated in Graves's "Lectures on the Pentateuch"—it is now generally adopted among theologians, as a true solution of many Scripture difficulties, and a sound view of a most important portion of "the ways of God to man." Entertaining as we do a deep respect for the work, as well as for the genius, learning, and virtues of its author, may we be permitted in conclusion to make a few general remarks, which have occurred to us in our occasional examinations of it, and which we hope may be not altogether useless in helping its readers to reap all the benefit which he designed them from it?

We would suggest, then, to all, what instinct, we suppose, teaches to all earnest believers: that in studying such works as this, they should endeavour as much as possible to neglect the apologetic form of them, and rather to consider themselves as reading an explanation of some details, in that which they know beforehand to be divine. This surely is the true, the instructive, the reverential way of looking at the particulars of the holy counsels of God: instead of putting our minds in an unnatural posture, and withdrawing to a distance, and winking hard, that we may see how they appear to those who are purblind, or have not so much light. Thus instead

of coolly and suspiciously surveying the word of the Lord by Moses, in order to shape it out, by rule and plummet, into what men call internal evidence, we shall humbly and adoringly trace out the prophetic intimations, which we know exist there, of the better dispensation to come. We shall recognise in the Hebrew nation, as St. Augustin teaches us, one great Prophet, a Prophet by typical action, whose doings and sufferings were overruled to represent those of our Lord and His mystical Body. In regard more particularly of the omission on which Warburton's argument is grounded; the want of any express recognition of a future state in the body of the Mosaic Covenant; the view we should take of it would be probably something like this: that God's covenant with the Jews being in the first instance national, and regarding individuals only in a secondary sense, its sanctions could of course only be temporal, since no society but the Church of Christ will be continued in the other world. As to individuals, they were left to what tradition or nature could teach; with the advantage of the clearer revelation of God's moral government which the Law afforded. The national Covenant, then, being made the sole object of attention, a wonderful and instructive scene is opened by the relation which it bears to the Gospel.

The Jewish people, it is allowed, were the type of each particular Christian: God's dealing with them as a nation, was a shadow and earnest of His dealings with us as individuals. The covenant with them at Horeb answers to our baptismal covenant: their deliverance at the Red Sea to our baptismal grace: their manna in the wilderness, to our bread from heaven: their national sins and defections, to the discontent, the sensuality, the schism, of unworthy Christians. Thus the Church has ever taught, under the guidance of that Spirit, which said by St. Paul, "These were all our examples,"—*τύποι ἡμῶν*. The sanctions, then, of God's national covenant with the Jews, temporal as they were, providentially typified our eternal punishments and rewards. The land flowing with milk and honey, the fountains and depths springing out of

valleys and hills, the miraculous providence which supplied the sabbatical year, and kept the enemies from desiring the land while the people were gone up to their feasts; these and the other parts of the theocracy represented the means of grace, God's care for His redeemed: and the peace, and wealth, and liberty of the Israelites in their better and more obedient days, were signs and pledges of the things which God had prepared for them that love Him. In the same way, the curses threatened by Moses to the disobedient, the heavens over them iron and brass, the rain of their land powder and dust, their whole land brimstone and salt and burning, the haunt of noisome beasts, and of the evil diseases of Egypt, were understood to be lively, though imperfect, images of the terrors, first, of excommunication in this world, then of reprobation in the world to come.

As far as mere belief of the truth of the religion is concerned, it seems evident that this detailed, ever-growing process is far better fitted to form and rivet it in the heart, than any argumentative polemical statement can be, however strictly guarded by the rules of sound reasoning. The nearer we are to the centre of the fortress, the more comprehensive and satisfactory our point of view: it is but an unprofitable piece of display to go out of it, and take a station where we can only see a part of the outer wall, in order that we may shew our skill by guessing what must be within.

And if we leave the mere question of evidence, and look to practical instruction, warning, and encouragement, there is no comparison, surely, between the two methods. How much, for example, do we learn on surveying the ancient dispensation, with regard to the single doctrine of repentance,—repentance after wilful sin, in persons who had been taken into immediate covenant with God. The hints of possible mercy for such, comparatively rare in the New Testament, are strengthened and brought out by consideration of God's way of bearing with the Jewish nation; while the gravest evidence is given that punishment of some sort or other may be expected in all such

cases. Israel was not cast off, but she must undergo captivity, and lose the glories which distinguished her first Temple: the penitent backslider may be saved, but so as by fire; so as to bear about him for an indefinite time the marks of decay and wilful imperfection.

There is something deeply wonderful and engaging in the pursuit of this kind of analogy; in being allowed partly to perceive how the political fortunes of a nation, so far off in time and place, were ordered with a view to the inward struggles of some poor nameless private Christian in some unknown part of the world: and how that which most startles and perplexes men in daily life, the sinfulness of orthodox believers in the full enjoyment of the means of grace, had the edge of its scandalousness, so to speak, taken off long ago, by the inspired record of the rebellion of the Israelites, even while the Cloud of Glory was in their sight, and the cry of Dathan and Abiram just perishing in their ears.

In thus considering the sanctions of the Jewish law, as addressed to the people rather than to individuals, we are at issue with Warburton, who, as is well known, would extend them alike to both: but it seems to have been rather generally felt, that this is by no means the strongest part of his argument. Bishop Sherlock, in a letter published by Mr. Kilvert[a], says,—

"I cannot help thinking that you will find it hard to come at sufficient proof of such *extraordinary* providence towards *particulars*, as your scheme seems to require."

And again[b],—

"As to the passages referred to, to support the extraordinary providence to particulars, I cannot agree with you in all. But I have but one thing to say to you on it: that you should avoid all doubtful and uncertain proofs in supporting a notion which you know will be so hardly received."

Dr. Graves, though he allows to a great extent the manifestation of an *extraordinary* providence towards individuals (which indeed is plain on the face both of the

[a] pp. 74, 75. [b] p. 84.

law and history of the Jews in many instances), yet when he comes to state the circumstances which might lead the ancients more or less directly to the thought of a future life as at least possible, dwells on the suffering life of Moses in particular, as an instance of that providence being far from *equal*. And there are other signal cases: one might specify in particular, those of Samuel, of Jonathan, and of Elijah, which tell very strongly in modification, if not in disproof, of this part of Warburton's statement. It is fortunate, therefore, that he has himself declared it to be unnecessary to his main argument.

"I shew (he tells Sherlock[c]) that it extended to individuals as well as to the public; *that yet if it did not, its extending to the public would be sufficient to my point*, as superseding all necessity of the doctrine of a future state for the ends of civil society."

Elsewhere he suggests many circumstances, which must have mitigated this providence in its administration; and which, taken all together, may well cause a doubt, whether it could ever practically have produced a rational feeling of a visible, *equal* providence; equal in the dispensing of rewards as well as punishments. Good men would always acknowledge it, and would feel sure that it must be so in the end: but it would always be more or less a matter of faith, not of sight.

Supposing this view correct, it has the further advantage of removing the misgivings, which naturally arise, on the statement of Warburton's argument, from the amount of the sanction which the Almighty is apparently there made to give to the love of wealth, power, and ease, and to the other subordinate motives; which, when we turn to the New Testament, we find to be so earnestly repressed and discouraged. If the Providence over individuals was marked by occasional interferences, sufficient to prove it *extraordinary*, yet not so dispensed that men could discern it to be *equal*, then it would be seen that the good things of this world were held out to God's

[c] p. 67.

people, not as adequate objects in themselves, but as tokens of His Fatherly approbation and lovingkindness, which Faith would still feel to be "better than the life itself."

"In these promises," says the great Pascal, "each person finds what he himself has at the bottom of his own heart, temporal or spiritual goods; God, or the creature: but with this difference, that those who seek the creatures therein, find them, but with many contradictions; with a prohibition to love them, with an injunction to adore none but God, and to love Him only: while those who seek God only, find Him without any contradiction, and with command to love none but Him."

All this suits well with a dispensation which left the people, as individuals, in possession of such probabilities in favour of a future state as they must gather either from tradition or natural reason; or from those instinctive longings, which could not but make themselves felt, and more or less bias men's conduct; however lightly it has pleased this great theorist to dismiss all consideration of them. But the moral tone of the Old Testament is not equally reconcilable with a plan which studiously *excluded* and *repressed*, while it was in its full operation, all yearnings and forebodings of the kind. The sort of indefinite hope to which it would lead considerate minds, is undeniably expressed both in the Psalms and Proverbs: the saying of the widow of Tekoah to David seems to shew that it may have been popular: "*We must needs die, and are as water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up again: neither doth God respect any person:* YET DOTH HE DEVISE MEANS THAT HIS BANISHED BE NOT EXPELLED FROM HIM." Warburton dwells on the first half of the verse, to shew that "there was no popular expectation of a future state, or resurrection:" it is remarkable, and lessens our confidence in him as an interpreter, that he should quite pass over the last clause, which at least required explanation on his hypothesis; especially since Bishop Taylor, a favourite writer of his, took this very verse for the text of his funeral sermon on

Lady Carbery; and there descants on it as on a clear intimation that "the righteous hath hope in his death."

Indeed, since Warburton himself has unreservedly admitted the statement of our Church in the seventh Article, that the old Fathers looked for more than transitory promises, and has largely illustrated it by the case of the sacrifice of Isaac, one does not very well see how he could deny the probable existence of a tradition, however faint and inadequate, to that effect. Was it probable that "God's chosen servants, the fathers and leaders of the Jewish nation," would or could entirely suppress all hints of this greatest of consolations? Is it not rather likely that the sure but indistinct hope, which had been graciously given to them, was transmitted, as occasion might serve, to their children and servants and others committed to their charge? The notion, we know, of a possible resurrection was suggested to Abraham's mind, and helped to reconcile him to the sacrifice of Isaac; what was there to hinder him from mentioning this thought, in subsequent discourse, to Sarah, and to Isaac himself? —a thought, which being once presented to the reflecting mind, would not easily pass away, nor fail to mingle with all its most serious speculations: such a thought, that he who has been conscious of it can never again be as if it had never occurred to him. Thus a presentiment, half instinctive, half traditional, might maintain itself among the more serious Israelites, which might materially assist them in devotion and goodness, even where it fell greatly short of anything like a settled faith. But it seems to be an infirmity of some superior minds, to be very impatient under unsatisfactory information; and perhaps Warburton's was among the number. It might seem to him that persons left in doubt on so material a question as a future life, are much in the same condition as if they knew nothing at all about it. He would not, of course, have set this down in so many words: but if he were unconsciously influenced by such a feeling, it may account for many things which otherwise seem strange in the conduct of his great argument:—for the extent to which

he carried his notions of the insincerity of the Pagan philosophers in their teaching about a future life; as well as for his wishing to make out that the Jews, in regard to that great Truth, were purposely kept in a state even more unfavourable than the heathens.

In this, as in most parts of this great writer's character, both personal and theological, one could wish for a more subdued and reverential tone of thought: as it is, while we admire his genius and eloquence, watch his inquiries with deep interest, and love the naturalness and affectionate warmth of his character, there is continually something to sadden us in the reflection, what he might have been, had he fallen on better times—times which would have thoroughly disciplined his rude virtues, and brought his luxuriant speculations into more entire conformity with the teaching of ancient Catholicism. But the example need not be the less instructive, because it is in one sense melancholy. At any rate, it is an important chapter in the history of the Church; to which the volume before us will prove a material addition.

COPLESTON PRÆLECTIONES ACADEMICÆ [a].

MUCH ridicule has been thrown on the business of poetical criticism through an unfounded notion, that it is nothing else but an attempt to fix by a certain standard things whose beauty consists in variableness as well as variety, and to teach man a lesson, which he will never consent to learn of another; namely, when he ought to be pleased. It can hardly be denied, we think, that the great canonists of this art in its early days assumed a tone rather too dogmatical and legislative. And many a crier in the court of Parnassus, just able to repeat their formulæ by heart, has thrust himself into the judgment-seat, to the great damage of sound doctrine and orthodox feeling.

Like other bigots, these fanatical worshippers did much to depreciate their own idol. Criticism suffered as much as poetry by their foolish attempt to trace a hard unvarying outline round forms, which would not be lovely, if they did not waver with every breath of heaven. From an important sister of the family of mind, a trusty and most useful handmaid, if not a worthy coadjutor, of moral philosophy, she was degraded into a cold unmeaning formalist, or at best but an orderly and faithful transcriber.

But, we are glad and proud to write it, our national poetry, which never wore the shackles of French taste with a good grace, has in the course of the last fifty years been gradually disencumbering herself of them. And the book now before us exhibits a gratifying and inspiriting proof that criticism has shared in the benefit of emancipation. Never have we read a work more full of moral

[a] "Prælectiones Academicæ Oxonii habitæ ab Edwardo Copleston, S.T.B. Collegii Orielensis Socio et Poeticæ publico Prælectore, nunc Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Londinensis Præbendario. 8vo. Oxon. 1813."

and literary candour. Where we most differ from the author, he almost constrains us to assent for the mere pleasure of agreeing with him. *Malumus cum Socrate errare, quam cum aliis verum dicere.*

It does not appear to have been sufficiently considered, that the *argumentum à priori* is not good in criticism. Her business is to enunciate rather than demonstrate: her axioms are drawn from the feelings, not the reason. For her best and most useful scope is not the improvement of the poetical art, but of the science of human nature. The facts are on record in every man's heart: they are not to be proved, but to be stated and accounted for. But we avail ourselves of a more eloquent and convincing exposition of this matter.

"Hoc ipse mecum semper statueram, ut qui de re poeticâ præcepta traderet decerptis modo locis ex poetis illustrioribus quæ aut sublima, aut venusta, aut aliquam ob causam admiranda viderentur, neque ex ipsâ mentis humanæ naturâ depromeret argumenta et subtiles illas cogitationum nostrarum atque affectuum rationes investigaret, is profectò frigidam aliquam contexeret cantilenam, vix pueris nedum vobis audiendam [b]."

We should point it out as one of the peculiar merits of this author, that he has never lost sight of this: that he is never dogmatical in his appeals to authority and established practice: that he is not ashamed of avowing a feeling, without assigning a direct argument for it. Yet we are inclined to imagine that his attention to this golden rule has led to what we cannot but regret as the chief disappointment we have experienced in reading his book. What we mean will best appear from a slight sketch of his general system.

Declaring first, that his object is not limited to any set of writings, but is as extensive as poetry itself, he proceeds, excusing himself by the way for giving no logical definition of it, to point out what he conceives to be a mistake in Lowth's opinion respecting its final cause. Lowth defines the poet's object in two words, *Prodesse*

[b] p. 3.

Delectando: our author in one, *Delectare*. So far we should not have dissented from him, especially when we find him qualifying his proposition as follows :—

"Neque enim jam voluptatem aliquam ex Epicuri hortis petimus, quæ meo sensu percipitur, sed longè aliam ac prestantiorem, quâ scilicet recreatur animus, cum aliquid præclarum aut magnificum aut venustum intuemur, quæ nascitur ex ipsâ pulchre effigie contemplandâ[e]."

After this, it is impossible that he should be misrepresented as saying that everything, which being written in verse gives pleasure, is poetry. His rule must clearly be understood in a practical sense : he who gives most pleasure, supposing the source of that pleasure poetical, is the best poet.

There is therefore some pleasure or set of pleasures peculiar to poetry : where, what, and whence is it ? We doubt whether there are two thinking men in the world who would answer this question alike. And it is probably this consideration, which has led our liberal-minded critic to pass without any further description of it immediately to the consideration of the instruments by which it is produced ; or rather, he seems to regard it as a collection of various pleasures, differing in kind and degree from each other, and having no common quality except that they arise from the study of the same kind of writings. These he proceeds to divide into those of the matter, and those of the style ; of the former he again specifies four distinct sources, imitation, the affections, imagination, and acquired taste (*judicium*). These form the cardinal points of his critical chart : but only the three first regions of the *materia poetica* are laid down in this volume. The office to which the world is indebted for it being tenable only for a term of years, was resigned by Mr. C. before the completion of his plan ; but we hope that he will yet complete it. It were unfair to all future aspirants in poetry to leave one of its best manuals a blank.

[e] p. 16.

Probably this is not the only imperfection necessarily attendant on the circumstances of this publication. A public lecture is not the fittest form for discriminating feelings nicely, or investigating them profoundly. Besides, a dead language is almost a gag to the tongue in delivering ideas so abstract and so delicately distinguished.

A feeling of these difficulties has, we suspect, deterred our author in many cases from going deeply into the principles of phenomena, which he has stated accurately and impressively. In that part of his subject to which we have just referred, it might be expected more particularly to operate. For if there be any one term which comprises in itself all the peculiar pleasures of poetry (we speak our feelings, let our readers compare them with their own) it is association. Now the Latin language presents no term correspondent to this, and the mental process itself seems to have been so little considered by their critics, that to have expounded a theory, of which it formed a chief element, in Latin, it would have been necessary to new-mould their whole philosophical vocabulary. Nevertheless, we find it so well explained in one of its applications in this very work [d], that however insurmountable the difficulty might have been to others, we are convinced that Mr. C. if he had undertaken it, would have succeeded. But forasmuch as he, leaning rather to the opinion which assorts together under the name of poetry five or six distinct pleasures, has chosen to omit it, we shall be excused for stating, in default of his weightier authority, what has seemed to us most probable in this matter.

Every man probably first thinks of poetry as of something synonymous with verse. But no man of taste could long content himself with this idea. With a very little practice, the graces of the form are distinguished from those of the drapery, and every one frames his own model of poetry, as he does that of material beauty. The efficient causes, therefore, both of beauty and poetry, vary as the various associations of individuals: but it does not

[d] p. 411.

follow that there is no uniformity in this variety, that the result reached, or supposed to be reached by these infinitely changing means may not be one and the same. And if there be any who find themselves able to refer all their pleasures of taste more or less remotely to one set of associations, to them those associations are a satisfactory test whether a sentiment or expression be poetry or no.

Now as far as an induction very limited in duration and extent will justify us, we should venture, in spite of our author's censure on those who restrict the pleasure of poetry to one source, to avow ourselves of this number. And we should ground our opinion on a thought beautifully expressed in the last page of this work:—

"Haud scio an sanctior quædam inter has artes et veram virtutem necessitudo intercedat, ut quod in illis rectum sit et decorum etiam summi illius boni quodammodo particeps fiat."

"That strain I heard was of a higher mood."

It is to the awakening of some moral or religious feeling, not by direct instruction (that is the office of morality or theology) but by way of association, that we would refer all poetical pleasure. If the thought has never struck our readers, we would only request of them not to throw it by untried, as strained or visionary, but to wait till they have applied it to what passage soever they have been wont to delight in most. Such an examination will at once shew whether our conjecture is at all borne out by fact.

It would require a volume to unfold the principle, and the experience of a life to prove it. We would only for the present obviate two objections, which will, it is likely, immediately suggest themselves to at least one half of the thinkers on the subject. The first is, that we are extending the empire of poetry too far, inasmuch as moral and religious associations are produced not only by writing, but by statues, pictures, melodies, even by numberless objects of common life. We readily grant that they are; nor have we the least objection to apply the term

poetry to every such case. Nay, we have no doubt that the observation, if proved in detail, would confirm our position, by shewing that no subjects of the arts, or of common life, are fit for poetry, which do not immediately or circuitously produce some such effect. If all this be allowed, we see nothing absurd in calling the same result by the same name, whatever be the sensible instrument whereby it is produced. Be it addressed to the eye, ear, or mind only; be it a song of Handel, a painting of Reynolds, or a verse of Shakespeare; if it "transport our minds beyond this ignorant present," if it fill us with the consciousness of immortality, or the pride of knowing right from wrong, it is to us, to all intents and purposes, poetry. Nor is it anything uncommon in language to apply the term to these arts. We hear of the poetry of sculpture, the poetry of painting: and we have been led to our present conjecture, partly by an attempt to find out what it was in each case whereby they were imagined to partake of their sister's nature.

On the other hand, it may seem that we are excluding by this definition many writings, which the world has agreed to wrap in laurel as genuine scrolls from Apollo. If a poet must be religious, it will be asked, what becomes of Lucretius, what of Anacreon, what of one of our most popular living bards? The answer is ready: we do not ask that he should profess religion or morality, but only that he should use ideas and language calculated to raise religious and moral associations. It is very evident that he may do this unconsciously even while he is preaching atheism or misanthropy, and that the images thus introduced into the mind may be so fascinating as completely to withdraw its gaze from the monstrous forms which lurk behind them. Is it the cheerless self-dependence, the supercilious irreligion of Epicurus, or his own zeal for truth and thirst for scenery, that sets Lucretius on high among poets? Is it for his joyless libertinism, his selfishness in love, his scepticism in loyalty and religion, that our ladies admire "Childe Harolde?" or is not all this felt even by his warmest idolizers as so much taken from his poetical merits, be they what they may?

We should hardly have ventured on these remarks, had we conceived them to be utterly at variance with the doctrine of the work which gave occasion to them. It would indeed have been a strong presumption against any theoretical opinion, to have found it inconsistent with a code of practical rules wherein almost every enactment, enforced by the aptest and most convincing examples, finds an instinctive assent before prejudice has time to lift her voice against it. But either we are strangely self-deluded, or it so happens that each of the three sources of poetical pleasure as here laid open by our author is fed from that higher fountain to which we have endeavoured to trace them. To make out this point, we will try to give a general outline of his method in each, especially pointing out those parts of it wherein some such principle seems to be implied.

And first in treating of imitation, Mr. C. is especially careful to warn us that he does not mean that meagre and babyish amusement of finding out the originals of such and such portraits, to which on the authority of one great name[e] the origin of poetry has been sometimes ascribed. At least this we collect from his often declaring, that to make poetry it is not sufficient that the objects be well imitated unless they have something pleasing or affecting in themselves. We delight also in the indignant tone which he assumes[f], in rejecting their fancy who would turn this divine art into a babbling mimic, a mere echoer of sounds with or without meaning. These exploded, there remain two sorts of imitation instrumental to Poetry: indirect, by which the style and structure takes the colour of the subject: and direct, whereby the forms of all absent things are embodied and made present to the mind's eye. The former our author promises to consider, where it more properly occurs, in treating of style. The other is divided according to its subjects into three species, respectively employed on external objects, characters and passions, actions and events; which latter, falling under the province of judgment, is left for discussion to a future

[e] See Aristotle, "Rhet.," b. i.

[f] p. 32.

part of the work. Under the first head we are led to cite the contrast between descriptive poetry and painting, partly as a specimen of distinct and compact writing such as few attain even in their mother tongue, partly, because it tends to illustrate the principles just now set forth.

"Profecto artes hæ duæ, de quibus loquimur, in plurimis certé similes ac cognatæ, in nonnullis dispari omnino sunt natura, et disciplina indigent penitus diversa. Neque enim ut Pictoris ita Poetæ sunt partes singula aperte distinguere, membra formamque explere, et justa mole ac mensura referre. Non patitur hanc operosam solicitudinem ipsa poeseos natura; neque omnia isto modo elaborari aut oportet aut decet. Quin diversum quodammodo ad finem alter ab altero spectare, certe diversam ingredi videntur viam. Nempe illi, quam maxime ad fidem naturæ expressâ re, mentem imitatione delectare propositum est. Hic rem eo usque depingit, dum eam jam imperfectam arripiat mens, et suis ex copiis quod desit suppleat. Hic admoto quasi pabulo acuit provocatque animum, Ille saturatum dimittit. Tum, quod maximum est, etsi Pictori sua semper qualiscunque laus constabit, qui ad veritatem etiam in re vulgari ac vilissima appropinquaverit, Poetam contra nihil fere nisi quod suâ sponte aliquid feret gratiæ aut venustatis imitari decebit: et sæpissime fit, ut quod laudis studio ac curæ debeatur, id omne ingenio sit detrahendum. Quibus causis permotus magnopere eos mirari soleo qui in voluptatis illius naturam diligentius inquirentes, quæ ex imitatione percipitur, præcipuam ejus partem ponunt in similitudine verum intuenda[8]."

From this and from many other passages we gather it as our author's decided opinion, that the chief part of the pleasure derived through imitation arises from some beauty in the objects imitated. What remains, if there be any, must of course arise from the perfectness of the imitation itself. Now, both these, as far as they are poetical, we cannot help considering as pleasures of the imagination, since they seem to depend on the degree in which the mind is enabled to realize within itself something unreal. We say, as far as they are poetical, since to us it is a cha-

[8] pp. 41, 42.

racteristic of poetry, as distinguished from those arts which address themselves to the senses, that we are never merely passive in receiving pleasure from it; that there must be some elasticity in the reader's mind, else it will not vibrate to the touch of the artist. To the want or the neglect whereof we are fain to ascribe it, that any are found, who have no farther notion of poetry than that it is something in verse, thereby degrading it to the level of a country dance, or a merry peal of bells, in the list of human enjoyments.

Now if poetical pleasure, through whatever instrument derived, imply some working of the mind within itself, we do not see how the mere perception of external resemblance can ever constitute, as in portrait painting, the test of excellence in the art. Here is no subject of pride, no impulse toward improvement, whereof the mind can be conscious. It does not act; it only feels that it is acted on. We conclude, therefore, that wherever from the beauty of the thing imitated, or the skill of the imitator, the mind is excited to fill up the picture for itself, there is pleasure indeed, and poetical pleasure, not however produced by the perception of likeness, but by the workings of the imagination. How it, in common with the other pleasures of the imagination, may be grounded on the higher associations, we shall presently attempt to shew. In other cases of exact description we are pleased with the success of the artist, and perhaps the truth of his representations; just as we are with a Dutch landscape, or an exact historical narration; but because the heart and the fancy are asleep the while, we cannot consent to call this poetry.

Our author appears to have had this feeling more present to him in writing on the imitation of external objects, than on that of human characters and passions. Perhaps it was because the poetical and historical pleasures in the latter are more blended than in the other. He has himself observed (see p. 120, and elsewhere) that sympathy is in most cases inseparable from a correct delineation of men's habits and feelings. We would add, that the subject of the moral picture, apart from the workman-

ship, can hardly fail to arouse the imagination, and the creative energy, above described, is forthwith set in motion. At least, we are certain that the passages which he has transcribed in his 8th and 9th Lectures, in order to prove that part of the pleasure of poetry is owing to the recognition of likeness, were to us so many evidences to the contrary. As an instance: the first that occurs is Menedemas relating his feelings when his son had left him :—

> "Ubi comperi ex iis, qui ei fuere conscii,
> Domum revertor mæstus atque animo fera
> Perturbato, atque incerto præ ægritudine.
> Adsido: accurrunt servi: soccos detrahunt:
> Video alios festinare, lectos sternere,
> Cænam apparare; pro se quisque sedulo
> Faciebant, quo illam mihi lenirent miseriam [h]."

It is not surely because this is like the life merely, but from our sympathy for the father's distress and the affectionate assiduity of his servants, that it delights us. Whereas, in the following verses from Lucretius, though nothing can be more precise than the description, we cannot feel any poetry :—

> "Denique ubi in medio nobis equus acer obhæsit
> Flumine; et in rapidas amnis despeximus undas;
> Stantis equi corpus transversum ferre videtur
> Vis, et in adversum flumen contrudere raptim:
> Et, quocunque oculos trajecimus, omnia ferri
> Et fluere adsimili nobis ratione videntur [i]."

If this be poetry, any man may be a poet, who will take the trouble of putting a few pages of Newton's "Opticks" into blank verse.

Throughout Mr. C.'s remarks on the particular objects, modes, excellencies and defects of imitation, we found ourselves interested and instructed. Many things which we had seen before, are there put in a new light: many which we had often felt, but know not how to express or account for, are feelingly and convincingly stated. But what, here

[h] Ter. "Heauton." I. 1. 69. [i] Luc. iv. 422.

and everywhere else, we regard as the prime virtue of this writer's manner, is his surpassing distinctness both in word and thought. He lays the right emphasis on every thing.

In the second and third parts of the work, which treat of the affections and of imagination, our gratification was still more unmixed, for we found less that seemed inconsistent with our own poetical creed. According to that creed, sympathy and phantasy, the one chiefly employed on moral, the other on religious associations, divide between them the regions of verse: the one warning against selfishness, the other against despondency; the one staying our steps in the course, the other pointing to the goal; the one telling us of our duty here, the other of our reward hereafter. One half of this doctrine, we apprehend, will readily be granted us: it has been for these 2000 years an axiom in criticism, that to purify the affections by terror and pity is a final cause of tragedy, and we are not aware of any reason why it should not be extended to all poetry. But that part of our proposition which concerns imagination may not perhaps be so clearly understood or so easily allowed.

All the pleasures of poetry, as the term is commonly apprehended, imply the embodying something visionary, the presenting something absent, the bettering something imperfect: their very being lies in the consciousness of some such operation. Now what (excepting in a mind thoroughly diseased and depraved, wherein imagination and reason too are slaves of the body) what can tend more strongly to make man feel his own dignity; to disencumber him of earthly affections, and lift him nearer what he once was, and what he may be again, than the exercise and invigoration of a power so totally independent of material things, so much at variance with the senses as this is? If, then, all the honest pleasures of the imagination have this high kindred, and if we may boldly exclude as unpoetical such as are corrupt and sensual, what hinders but that the poetry of the imagination, as well as that of the heart, be owned to have its beginning and end in religious and moral associations?

We must now recur, but briefly, to that part of Mr. C.'s work which treats of the passions. He takes the natural division of the subject into the persons, events, and sentiments, best fitted to excite them; everywhere selecting the commonest faults, and the rarest excellencies, and thus making his work really useful to writers as well as readers. We pass over some very sensible lectures on the production of pity, and hasten to one, which we regard as inferior to none, on the use of madness in exciting sympathy. It is there maintained, in opposition to a common opinion, that this, apart from all other calamities, is not an object of pity. We were startled at first by this doctrine, but on an attentive examination of his argument, and consequent reference to the most remarkable instances of poetic madness wherewith we are acquainted, we were thoroughly converted to it. We are unwilling to injure this admirable essay by mutilated extracts, or a meagre analysis, but we recommend it as a perfect model of critical discrimination and illustration by example.

Mr. C. has written *con amore* on the use of sentiments. Referring their poetical merit to the sympathy which they excite, he has laid it down as a general rule that they should not be uttered as lessons of reason, but as bursts of feeling.

"Quod enim via et ratione docebitur, id jam non poema erit sed præceptoris formula. Sed sicuti in vitâ melius exemplis juventutem instituti aiunt quam præceptis, ita in carminibus quæcunque ad mores et mentem moderandam pertinent, minima de industriâ dici videantur, sed sponte nasci, et pro re nata efferri: quæ cum gratiam quandam et nitorem fabulæ præbeant, tum et ipsis quoque ex fabula vim novam et pondus comparabunt."

In other words, the poet wanders out of his province if he attempt to teach except by association. He must be content with sign and gesture: the divine and moralist alone speak the language of instruction.

Sentiments may be divided into two classes, according to the nature of the affections which they excite. Some are pleasing in that they revive in us certain just and

natural feelings too long benumbed or lulled by worldly pursuits; such are those which set forth the shortness of life, the instability of fortune, the delights of domestic life.

"Dictum enimvero est sententias hasce non minis præ novitate auditores tenere, quoniam, modo attentius quis inquirat, sæpe eandem rem sibi in mentem venisse fatebitur. Attamen ea est rerum humanarum ratio, ut raro in has cogitationes se convertat animus. Alia nobis inter agendum, alia nihil agentibus placent. Aliter negotiis impliciti et studio ardentes, aliter otia diffluentes et curis vacui judicamus. Quod profecto ni ita esset, vix ad vitæ munera exsequenda suppeterent animi atque vires. Hinc autem fit, ut quoties fabula bene morata aut poetarum sententiis revocamur ad hæc quietæ mentis judicia, falsa quodammodo pro veris mutare, certe ab opinione sordida ac vulgari ad meliorem frugem reversi esse videmur."

We doubt whether Mr. C. has not erred in ascribing so much of the pleasure derived from these sentiments to the love of truth. It is most certain that they would not please if they were untrue, for then they would not be found as they are in every man's bosom: yet we are disposed to think that it is not the reason discerning them to be true, but the fancy recognising them as connected with interesting remembrances and expectations, which makes us linger about them with so much delight.

Other sentiments there are which address themselves immediately to our love of virtue, glory, or immortality. These receive great additional effect when they are enforced by the character of the speaker, and tend in their turn to illustrate it; and this is sometimes done by making them deviate from the common track of that character: "Si quando virum strenuum et bellicosum contingat leniter loqui, iracundum temperate, mollem atque imbellem animose[k]." Of this kind are several touching traits in Shakespeare's Queen Catherine.

Between the second and third parts we find a Lecture on Epitaphs, which we recommend to be got by heart by all writers in marble, who look for excellence as well as durability. Our author makes a threefold division of

[k] p. 324.

them, according as they are meant to tell us something of the deceased, to express the feelings of the survivors, or to deliver some moral or religious sentiment. He rightly condemns their custom, who write a long list of actions and honours on a tomb: perhaps, however, the rule may be qualified in some measure for national monuments. Great caution, we apprehend, should be used in applying his direction that epitaphs should be somewhat pointed and epigrammatic. We have heard people talk of the sting of an epitaph: to our minds, everything but simplicity and unadorned seriousness is as much out of place on a tomb as in a prayer.

In reading the Lectures on Imagination we were more than ever disposed to repine that the author's professorship should so soon have come to an end. His hand was restrained to a few touches, but of those every one is bold and masterly: we allude particularly to the Lecture on Mythology, whom we are delighted to find so ably advocated, after her unjust proscription by Johnson, and to that on the use of antiquity and prophecy. In very truth, the touch of poetry never thrills so deeply as when she purges our eyes to behold the infancy or old age of mankind, what our fathers were and what our children will be. These, the highest pleasures of hope and memory, are common to all human nature: others there are arising out of the destinies of nations and of individuals, and as various as they. Arguing with reference to these last, some have supposed the poetry of the Imagination altogether unsusceptible of law or order; to whom our author excellently answers, that although the fancy link objects rather from their accidents, than from their substance, and although in each man's reveries their connection be almost evanescent, yet whosoever would interest others must avail himself of some more general association. He may talk as he will to himself, but he must talk grammar in company. This is evinced by an examination of those "loose pearls," the Persian and Arabic love-songs, of which Sir William Jones has given specimens.

The concluding Lecture offers some detached observa-

tions on style, and unfolds the law of analogy in metaphor and simile.

We feel less regret for the omission of that part of the work, which should have treated of judgment, because, as our readers may have already seen, we are not disposed to consider anything which addresses itself, as this mostly does, to the understanding only, as properly belonging to poetry. That it is a high and dignified pleasure, we readily acknowledge, but we see not how it differs from what we feel on making out the proportions of an historical or moral work. Yet it is on one side strongly bound to poetry. Constantly reaching after perfect order, it stirs the moral sense with the desire and the fancy with the image of perfect virtue.

We cannot close this book, by far the most distinct and the richest in matter of any which it has fallen to our lot to read on the subject, without repeating our earnest wish that it may be completed and modernized. For we are convinced, that it would be of great and universal benefit in more ways than one. Criticism, besides her office of developing the general laws of the human mind, is capable of teaching us a valuable lesson on the connection of the intellectual and moral faculties. Mr. C.'s book is a sufficient proof of this. Let every one study it, who can be delighted with contemplating the steady and fearless march of a spirit unwearied in looking for Truth, prompt in discovering, and frank in imparting it; full of indulgence for all that is pardonable in error, full of honest and holy indignation against all that is debasing, immoral, or irreligious.

REV. J. MILLER'S BAMPTON LECTURES[a].

THE Christian student, wearied with controversy, and comparing the thorny wilderness of scruples and objections, in which his duties personal or professional too often compel him to range, with the plain and easy path of his sincere and humble, though unlettered brethren, may naturally be imagined ever and anon to cast a wistful look towards their noiseless obscurity, and even in the very palace of learning and refined theology, to take up the strain of the Mantuan Shepherd in the court of Augustus:—

> "O fortunati nimium, sua si bona norint.
> Agricola! quibus ipsa, procul discordibus armis,
> Fundit humo facilem victum justissima tellus."

Happy are they whose faith is unfettered by anticipation of offence, and embarrassed by notional objections; to whom, far from the din of controversy, their own hearts and lives (the proper field appointed for them to cultivate) are continually bearing the fruit of holiness in its due season: thrice happy, if they but knew their own happiness, who never heard the names of Deist and Atheist, Orthodox or Heretick, Papist or Protestant, Lutheran or Calvinist: but are content to be Christians because they find themselves the better for it.

This, we say, is a natural reflection; and along with it must needs follow some charitable anxiety, whether that spirit of universal instruction and free enquiry, which in our days so widely prevails, be not continually making

[a] "The Divine Authority of Holy Scripture asserted, from its Adaptation to the Real State of Human Nature: in eight Sermons preached before the University of Oxford in the year 1817, at the Lecture founded by the late Reverend John Bampton, M.A., Canon of Salisbury. By John Miller, M.A. Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford. 1817. pp. 247. 9s.

inroads upon this quiet scene of intellectual contentment; possessing well-intentioned souls with scruples and objections, which they would never else have thought of; in one word, introducing knowledge to thrust out charity and peace. For if he spoke truly who said, Knowledge is Power, every question touching its general diffusion must come to us with an interest not only deep, but in some measure also doubtful: in such measure, namely, as we think that power likely to be abused. Nor can any among the thousand complicated duties of society be more delicate (as surely few are more important) than theirs are, who hold in some sort the key of instruction; who can pen it up for a time in its flood-gates, or let it loose at will over the plain. We are well aware, that to most readers of the present time, it will appear an antiquated paradox to talk of the danger of too much knowledge. We are so much used of late to regard both herself and her companion and near relation, Liberty, as absolute blessings in their own nature, that many of us think we can hardly have too much of them. And no wonder that free enquiry, which seems to unite both, should be as it were the idol of the nineteenth century: that every man should be not only encouraged, but invited, nay urged, to judge for himself on all important matters, not only as a *right* which he may exercise without mischief, but as a *duty* which he must fulfil, if he look for any considerable advance in good. Yet we must be permitted to doubt, whether it would not be both truer in theory and safer in practice, to consider both these blessings (great as they undoubtedly are, and thankful as we ought to be for every measure of them which a bounteous Providence allows us) rather as contingent and improvable talents, than as of immediate, certain advantage in the hands of a being so weak and wilful, so obstinately set upon abusing the best things, as we too often find one another and feel ourselves to be. We have the best authority for asserting, that it is not a charitable thing to teach people at random; that there is much, very much to be done in rightly apportioning, timing, and selecting

the truths to be communicated, to the end that each may receive such as he is able to bear [b].

It is to their deep consciousness of the difficulty of doing this, heightened perhaps in some instances by an erroneous though pardonable dread of novelty and dislike of trouble, that we would ascribe the positive opposition of some excellent persons, and the hard-wrung assent of many more, to the general diffusion even of the Scriptures and the Prayer-book, and of the power of reading and applying them. "Knowledge of good," they say, "cannot in this world be entirely separated from knowledge of evil: truth is not to be had but at the cost of controversy: and we think that, on the whole, people are more likely to get to their journey's end, if they are told to go straightforward and take their chance, than if they are warned beforehand of all the turnings and windings, by which it is possible for them to lose their way."

And so they would be, if the road were at all doubtful, or if they had no means of securing themselves against dishonest or mistaken directions. But we are not confident enough in the strength of our own cause, if we suppose the great question, whether the religion taught in the Bible will save a man's soul or no, to be at all of doubtful solution to any man, who studies it in the right frame of mind. In our confessions of our own weakness and suspicions of that of our brethren, we ought not to forget the unparalleled strength of our cause, and the goodness of that Providence, which has filled heaven and earth with arguments in behalf of it: above all, we should do well to consider, before we venture to check that impulse which at first thought every believer feels, to communicate the means of Christian knowledge to the ignorant, whether we should not be running counter to the express word and will of God: the whole frame of Whose dealings with mankind seems to prove (what one would think our own experience might convince us of) that it is very un-

[b] St. Mark iv. 33; St. Matthew xix. 11; 1 Cor. iii. 1, 2; Heb. v. 12—14; and perhaps St. Matthew vii. 6.

safe to trust to ignorance as a security against sin. The happiness of the Christian, like that of Virgil's peasant above mentioned, depends mainly on this condition: that he *know* from what he is preserved, and to what entitled. He is "fortunatus nimium, *sua si bona norit.*"

One practical result of these two opposite considerations; the necessity of teaching men Christian knowledge on the one hand, and on the other, the great danger of mixing up with it a great deal of what is unchristian; seems to be this; That those, whose peculiar business it is to teach, should be very careful to select such topics, as may convey the knowledge of good not only in the most impressive manner, but likewise with the least possible admixture of the knowledge of evil: so that neither the wavering may be offended, nor the humble distressed, by those very means, which were intended to minister strength and comfort to both.

To apply this to the branch of divine instruction, for the promotion of which the Bampton Lecture was more especially intended; "the evidences of universal Christianity, and of its cardinal and indispensable doctrines." The circumstances of the times are unhappily such, so many tempting spirits are abroad, that no man can now be secure in the depth of his retirement and poverty, but he must needs come to the humiliating certainty that there are many unbelievers in the world. It is frightful to think of the unwearied diligence of the missionaries of evil in preaching atheism, scepticism, and every other form of acquiescence in vice, or unhallowed, because self-sufficient, enquiry. Scarce a country town but is now colonized with its little knot of infidels, alert and busy to flatter every licentious, every discontented poor man with visions of impunity, both in this world and the next. Or if he escape this worst offence, yet it can hardly be expected that the sound of controversy should not, in some one or other of her numerous discords, grate upon the quietest and most practical believer's ear. But suppose some sequestered glen, retaining, like Gideon's fleece, the dew of heaven unsullied by the dusty whirlwind; suppose a single

parish so walled in by Nature or Providence, that not one of the numerous firebrands of ecclesiastical and civil faction ever found its way thither: yet a more fearful struggle remains, a stronger temptation to unbelief must be wrestled with,—we mean the unholy living of professed believers. No ignorance can shelter a man's eyes from this; no weakness can prevent him from drawing the natural conclusion, that they whose actions give the lie to their creed, cannot be in earnest in repeating it: and, unfortunately, he is sure to have that within him, which will dispose him more readily to question *its* truth than *their* consistency. Or if by divine grace blessing his own honest endeavours, he is preserved from the deadly snare of such example, yet will the bare knowledge that such things are, be often intruding itself, to dim the light of his hope, and clog the wings of his devotion, and distress, if not perplex, what used to be his most consoling meditations. So near akin is the piety of the ignorant to the purity of the child: the first involuntary whisper of an evil thought is enough to taint its virgin glories for ever. There is need of some higher principle, some goodness more than merely negative, to keep the heart "among the faithless, faithful," blameless and unspotted in an adulterous and sinful generation. Except some mean can be found out of giving Christians, even the weakest of them, an habitual, ever-present, absolute confidence, that they are in the right way, ninety-nine out of a hundred will be sure to stand still, or go wrong.

It is to be considered, then, by those who are anxious to do good with the least chance of evil, which of all the various forms of argument, whereby the general truth of our holy religion is wont to be maintained, may be best calculated for the use of humble-minded men, of common capacity, seeking not to make converts of others, but to become thoroughly rooted and grounded themselves in the saving faith of the Gospel.

To some such train of thought as we have now been endeavouring to trace, it should seem that we are indebted for Mr. Miller's work; every sentence of which

bears witness to the intensity with which the author has meditated on those most momentous of all duties, which make up the pastoral care, and on the existing phænomena of the moral world, so far as they are connected therewith. It will be worth the reader's while to look over again the case we have just now put, stated in his own far more impressive words. The text of his introductory lecture is taken from 2 Tim. iii. 14, 15: "But continue thou in the things which thou hast learned, and hast been assured of, knowing of whom thou hast learned them; and that from a child thou hast known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus."

Our author is describing, in reference to this apostolical direction,—

"the condition of an educated person, and more especially one that has enjoyed the benefit of a religious discipline, under the care of believing parents, now arrived at the season of more independent thought, in a Christian kingdom."

"Before he was born, there was extant in that country a book, professing to be an authentic revelation from the true God; a book, the possession of which is regarded as a special inheritance, and the kingdoms possessing it as highly exalted, by that very single circumstance, above the level of other nations. That book made up the faith of his fathers. In obedience to its appointment, he was himself baptized, in his infancy, unto belief and acceptance of the same. He has been instructed in it ever since. He has been taught of all things to respect and reverence it. Out of this he has been bidden to take his principles, his hopes, and his fears: dreading that *hell*, which it denounces as a final punishment; aspiring to that *heaven*, which it promises as a final reward. Through this he has been accustomed, from his childhood, to bow at the name of Jesus Christ, as a Saviour who came to redeem him and all mankind; and to pray, daily and habitually, for protection and assistance from on high. In short, reverence for THE BIBLE has 'grown with his growth, and strengthened with his strength.' It has been so long an engrafted part of all his knowledge, that it has become, as it were, his native stock. It is mixed up with all his ideas, so that he can no longer separate them from its influence. He has had, as yet,

no notion of despising or rejecting the Bible; no conception of any such appalling possibility, as that it may be false, and he himself be but a poor deluded bigot, and his belief, after all, nothing but deception! If he has heard or read of infidels and heretics, it has been but with youthful unconcern; while anything he may have noticed of offence and actual wickedness, during the progress of a few years comparatively innocent, must have tended to convince him of the truth of all that he has been taught to believe. For even a child may understand that wickedness, in others, wants correction. And this is something he has always learnt: that the Bible is against wickedness; and religion given to man to root it out.

"But as years advance, and he goes forth among his fellows with more of the opening faculties of man, his condition is beset with strange perplexities. *Inquirers* are everywhere around him; and he finds that this book, which he has been always taught with such scrupulous care to believe, and reverence, and obey, as being the sure word of God, is the subject of all manner of disputings, and disquiet, and gainsayings. He finds some, for example, doubting its historical evidence, and some offended at its matter; some, again, busied in curtailing its doctrines, and others in extending them too far. In short, scarcely a conceivable form of scepticism, or of heresy, can be imagined, which he does not now find actually prevailing, under an avowed general reception of that holy record, of which he himself still finds no reason to think otherwise than as he has been taught to think before.

"Yet all disputants would claim him, as a hearer, to their several pretensions; and every one would gladly gain him, as a proselyte, to his particular cause. All, too, appeal with apparently equal confidence to the ordeal of *inquiry*. By which, I mean, an examination throughout, and in detail, not only of the credentials of every outward kind, with which Christianity, as a revelation, is provided; but also of all metaphysical and speculative objections, of whatever description, which the spirit of resistance has advanced, or may advance, against it. What, therefore, shall he do?

"If he be himself a person of a keen and ardent temperament; inquisitive in other things; of a mind impatient under partial information, and sensitive to objection; rendered uneasy by it; and not quite prepared, after all, when the trial comes, to over-rule it at once within himself by the strength of individual conviction;—

if he be of this temper, and at the same time stored (as it is then probable he will be) with a sufficient share of ability and learning to unravel the intricacies of argument, and to balance the weightier against the weaker reason; all will be well. In this case, there is no need of much perplexity. This temper will boldly fight its way through all the subtleties of proof, and all the evasions of sophistry. It will accept the challenge, and inquire; and if it but reserve to itself (which we suppose) a *foundation* in its early impressions, doubtless, it will itself be strengthened by inquiry, and truth will be benefited. It is not for this temper that so much anxiety is wanted, and so much sympathy.

"But suppose the Christian, now for the first time entangled, by himself, in all these difficulties, to be of another frame; of a disposition, meek and pious; of attainments, at most only respectable, or, more probably, inferior; not blind, nevertheless, to the pretensions and deserts of others, though wishing to remain at ease amidst his own possessions, if without weakness or intolerance he may;—suppose him to be one, that has so far tasted of the fruits of practical holiness, as to have no quick sense of subordinate objections; not disposed to deny an objector's claim to reasonable satisfaction, if properly demanded, but altogether indisposed himself to *argue* upon points, to which he feels not fully competent, in the detail, and which have never caused himself any uneasiness; suppose the Christian's disposition, I say, to be of *this* sort; what shall be done here?"

Shall we advise him to procure Paley and Lardner, and set about studying the external evidences of his religion, having first worked himself down to a proper degree of scepticism? This would be too much like bidding one, who is already safe on shore, take a boat to a certain distance, and then jump into the sea, to try whether he can swim to land. Not to dwell upon the quantity of learning involved in such an inquiry, the number and variety of objections, the niceties of history, language, and manners to be got by heart; the very length of the argument is a sufficient reason against recommending it, as it would most likely, in fact, be a sufficient discouragement from carrying it through. For let it be remembered that he, whose faith we are supposing at stake, cannot defer choosing what his *practice* shall be. He has already set out on his

journey. Life cannot stand still till his scruples are satisfied; till he has done weighing Hume and Gibbon against Campbell and Paley. And what, meanwhile, is to become of his charity and spiritual-mindedness, of his love and fear of God, in short, of everything which makes the practical Christian? Will it be safe for him to lay them aside, till he is convinced that on sound principles of criticism and logic he ought to be a believer? Or can he exercise them while his faith is wavering, and his mind perplexed with enquiries so foreign to its usual habits? Far, very far from our minds and hearts be the thought of speaking disrespectfully of those most glorious and precious gifts of God, the historical evidences of the Christian Religion. Where there is leisure, talent, and humility, worthy the handling of them, no studies can be more ennobling in their progress, none more blessed in their end. But let us be forgiven, if we use strong language to deprecate the unseasonable forcing of such enquiries upon persons, who have no call upon them to answer other men's scruples, and by their life and conduct shew that they have none of their own; or upon any persons whatever, whose age, avocations, or infirmities, preclude a rational hope of their getting well through with them in time to apply their result to the great business of life.

What has been said of the *historical* proofs of our religion will apply also, in good measure, to several branches of its *internal* evidence; at least in the way in which they have been set forth by the most approved writers, and are commonly taught to students in Divinity. Take for example the argument of great part of Butler's "Analogy," or that of Soame Jenyns's well-known little treatise. A very young man could not well, we suspect, enter into the spirit of the first; nor a man ill-read in the classics, into that of the second. But, though we believe that even these, with all their abstruseness and ingenuity, might sooner be rendered satisfactory to weak believers, than the longer and drier detail of historical evidence could be; yet we see no reason to doubt that the same all-merciful Providence, which has furnished appropriate

nourishment to the different stages of our natural existence—milk for babes, strong meat for them of full age—has been equally careful to suit such, as without any fault of their own are children in understanding, with proofs equally satisfactory, and more within their reach. We believe that it may be as truly said to Christians now, as it was to the very eye-witnesses of the miracles of Moses and of Christ, "The word is very nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thine heart." For, is not Christian knowledge a collection of *practical* truths? and how can practical truths be so well decided, as by experiment? Now, whatever difficulty a man may find in comprehending what are popularly called the evidences of our religion, the experiment of holy living (the true *experimentum crucis* in this matter) is always in his own power. And, so long as he has that, he must not complain that he wants sufficient means of convincing himself. No *believer* can doubt this; for he has his Lord's express promise, "If any man will do His will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of Myself." No *man troubled with honest doubts* need fear it, for it can do him no harm: and it must soon deliver him from suspense one way or the other. In other words, we are satisfied that Mr. Miller is right in affirming, as he does in the outset of his argument, that the true secret for laying to rest the perplexed spirit, tossed up and down upon the waves of conflicting opinions, is no other than implicit Faith: "some one simple and unreserved submission to the commands of an infallible guide."

"If a devout reception of the Bible, as the Word of God, in the first instance, for no other reason than because it was presented as such; if a hearty submission to that Word, and to the will of God, and a fear of offending Him; if a confession of, and a reliance upon, the name of Jesus Christ, and on the help of divine grace; if these, received *implicitly* in the beginning, and then pursued, because they were found to supply the spirit with satisfaction and consolation in the performance of daily duty; if these do not, even in their lowest and weakest proportion,

make up an intelligible, and real, and saving form of Christian Faith, then, where and what is the belief of thousands, and tens of thousands of our simpler brethren, inheritors, we trust, no less than ourselves, of the hope of salvation? Or, wherein are they better than the heathen, except in that they live under a happier light of human knowledge, and of civil government? It is a blessing to be *enabled* to inquire; and God give unto us, as many as enjoy the ability, grace to profit by it! But to *insist* upon inquiry (I mean, inquiry more or less sceptical) indiscriminately; or in any manner, which the Spirit of grace, manifested by its fruits, has not itself suggested to the believer's own heart; this, be the portion of ability vouchsafed what it may, is neither the way to discover truth, nor to promote unity[c]."

That this is far from being spoken in a peevish spirit, or with any wish to silence fair investigation, the very tone of the next paragraphs, in which Mr. Miller points out the several sorts of objections reasonably to be anticipated, does abundantly evince. But we have no room to quote; it is enough to mention, that such objections are overruled altogether by the necessity of the case, and by the almost self-evident consideration, that

"we must not, through an over-willingness to allow their due to others, forego, to the soul's peril, that which is our own. By which I mean (forbearing for the moment all consideration of positive *duty*) that individual *right* which we possess, as candidates for Christ's kingdom of glory, of resting our faith and hope, not upon any proof, or series of proofs, which scepticism has made it customary to insist upon, to shew the truth of our religion; but, upon that which best attests the *divine authority of Holy Scripture* to our own hearts, according to the proportion of means and opportunities, of personal dispositions and abilities, with which it has been the pleasure of the Almighty severally to invest us[d]."

Such a means of conviction Mr. Miller conceives may be found in the following proposition, which we give at length, as it contains in itself the substance of the whole work.

[c] pp. 12, 13. [d] pp. 15, 16.

"That, looking at the religion proposed to our acceptance in Holy Scripture, as we there find it; accepting it, first, by the courtesy of good-will, as true, for the very fact's sake that it is presented to us under such circumstances as it is; and weighing its pretensions, not by any conformity, or non-conformity, with preconceived abstract principles, but by its correspondence with the actual phænomena of moral nature, and with the history of man; there is an evidence of truth and authority in Holy Writ itself, which will then constrain us to abide by it: which evidence is to be seen in its sufficient and admirable adaptation to all our wants and weaknesses, our hopes and desires; in its comprehensive knowledge of human nature; in its inherent, elastic, and perpetual applicability to all the just demands of man, the creature made subject to its jurisdiction for ever[e]."

It may be worth the reader's while to see this proposition, which professes, and we believe truly, to be "the foundation of the faith of the vulgar," stated in more popular terms, and shortened by the omission of some clauses, which at present, though they certainly add significance to it, yet rather hinder the mind from taking it in as a whole. We will therefore take the liberty of stating what we conceive to be the substance of it, in a more simple and portable form. And here we must express our earnest wish that none of our readers who may be interested in this subject (and surely there must be few or none wholly indifferent to it) would rest contented with such imperfect abstracts and garbled quotations as it is in our power to make, or pass any judgment upon it, till they have examined the book for themselves, and seen whether we have represented it faithfully. For not to mention that the nature of the argument is what, above all others, will better bear to be thought than talked of, its force depending not upon a series of propositions, but upon an inexhaustible and infinitely diversified moral induction; there is a peculiarity in the writer's manner, highly honourable to himself, which makes it hardly possible to abstract or abridge what he says without giving wrong impressions; and

[e] pp. 17, 18.

that is, his exceeding cautiousness, occasioned partly by a charitable fear of giving offence, and partly by his rare knowledge of the manifold bearings of his complicated subject. These have led him to qualify his general positions, more especially where they involve anything of controversy or personality, so much, that it requires a good deal of attention, many times, to discern the exact drift of them; and a discrimination and forbearance very like his own, to give the substance of them correctly in a more compressed form. This may serve to apologize, both for the occasional obscurity of his manner, and for some part of the injustice which we are well aware we are doing to his argument, in attempting any abstract of it whatever. Let it be now considered whether the force of that argument, as stated above in his own words, is correctly given in the following syllogism:—

He who finds by experience that the rule of faith which he has adopted (no matter upon what grounds at first) is such as to meet all his exigencies, and satisfy all his thoughts and wants, must believe that it proceeded from a Being who had a perfect and prospective knowledge of his nature.

But this is the case of the obedient Christian in respect of Holy Scripture.

The conclusion is manifest.

Of the two premises, the first is so nearly self-evident, and in whatever degree it falls short of self-evidence, is so sure to be forced upon the mind in the course of the practical trial which it supposes, that Mr. Miller, addressing himself as he does almost exclusively to the believer, is doubtless quite justified in taking it for granted, and devoting the whole of his treatise to the illustration and proof of the second. But as we consider his argument, not perhaps likely, but in all respects entitled, to meet with serious consideration from them that are without also, we would premise for the use of such persons a few words upon this preliminary part, before we go on with him to the points on which it principally hinges.

The chances are, that an unbeliever would reject this

mode of reasoning at first glance, as a mere appeal to the authority of the lowest of mankind, and that resting on a *petitio principii*. And yet the same man would account it madness to reject a remedy for a fever, though it had been successfully tried on a thousand patients, merely on the ground that not one of them was a philosopher. But is not a poor man conscious of the diseases and cravings of his soul as well as of his body? Is he not a competent witness of his own comforts and anxieties, his own inward peace, or remorse? And after all due allowance made for the height to which we may exalt ourselves by liberality and free enquiry, will there not still be left many things which the rustic believer has in common with the enlightened sceptic? many distresses to be relieved, many practical perplexities to be solved, many troublesome passions to be soothed? And if the cases agree in so many points, how can it be reasonable to throw away the medicine without trial or enquiry?

Neither are all vulgar and ignorant, who have borne testimony to this overpowering evidence, which implicit, practical faith in the Bible is sure to bring after it. It is not without reason, that Mr. Miller calls upon even the most learned of his audience

"to search out of his own heart, honestly, whether in reality his faith does ultimately rest upon any different foundation from theirs? or whether it be possible, until we exercise it under the dominion of an unreserved and unfeigned faith, to apply the learning which is here acquired to its most effectual purpose? . . . I am persuaded, that such elementary faith does really contain in it the true strength of the very strongest, as well as of the weakest among us all; so much so, that, in fact, without it all our seeming acquired strength becomes only our greatest danger[f]."

The admirable Pascal is an unanswerable instance; whose glorious testimony to the value of implicit faith so provoked Voltaire, that not being able to confute him, he threw out a sarcasm of madness against him; doubtless thinking it a new invention; for he considered not that

[f] pp. 19, 20.

former infidels had said the same of the Wisdom of the Father Himself.

But to proceed with our remark. It is farther to be observed, that to a candid unbeliever the argument from the authority of implicit believers is *cumulative*, i.e. a fresh argument is added every time a new instance is observed of a man's finding his happiness in Christianity; whether he be poor or rich, learned or ignorant. They are so many independent testimonies; and surely the sum of their evidence, altogether, even to him who is ever so unfortunately situated, must be such, as would be more than sufficient, on every other interesting practical subject, to provoke enquiry in the only effectual way; viz. Experiment. For it can hardly be too often repeated that this *is* a practical subject, and that questions of practice can only be decided by experience. So that in fact the blame of begging the question, which the infidel is continually throwing upon the implicit believer, cannot but recoil upon himself. For it is he who takes upon him to judge, without trial, of the result of a certain course of action, in direct opposition to others, who have actually tried it. A most unphilosophical as well as immoral proceeding.

But there are, we apprehend, many among unbelievers, who, granting the fact on which we reason, would yet deny the conclusiveness of it: who would without hesitation allow that a man *may* find in Scripture that perfect rest and peace unto his soul, and that unerring rule of conduct, which we assert, but will not allow that *therefore* Scripture is proved divine. On what other principle, supposing them sincere, can we account for the conduct of that philosophist, who was caught by a friend one morning in the very act of teaching his daughter the Bible; or of those who profess unbelief in conversation with their equals, but go to church, they say, for their inferiors' sake? Surely such men have never reflected how much is implied in the terms, "unfailing system of motives," "perfect rule of life." Let it be allowed us to state a case, similar in kind, but infinitely inferior in

degree. Suppose that on the day of a child's birth, a collection of papers should be put into the hands of his parents, purporting to contain rules for the management of his health; and suppose, that after having tried them for years, he found them in all respects satisfactory and sufficient, found that he could not swerve from them without being ill, and that he enjoyed bodily health exactly in such proportion as he adhered to them in practice. Would he not be constrained to believe that they were left for his use by some one who knew his constitution perfectly? And if, on comparing notes with his neighbours, he should find that they also had received the same set of prescriptions, and with the same happy effect, as many as had put it in practice; could he deem less of the author than that he was an universal physician? The application needs not to be stated.

"But," it may be objected, "it is the part of ignorance to be always having recourse to supernatural means: we cannot tell how far the first framers of this code, supposing them to be mere men, might have advanced in the knowledge of human nature by reason and experience alone."

Certainly we cannot: nevertheless common sense, and a review of the actual progress of the human mind in other branches of enquiry, and most especially in that which is nearest akin to religion, the science of morals and legislation, will both concur in convincing us, that their advance would not have been unlimited; some Gordian knot would still remain to be untied; it would be evident to all, that in some quarter or other there was still room for farther discovery. But we are supposing a code absolutely perfect, and confessed by thousands of persons, by all who have in good earnest submitted themselves to it, to come fully up to all that they could ask or think. Further, we are supposing it *prospective;* proved by experience to suit all subsequent generations of its subjects, as well as it did those to whom it was first made known; applicable, without forcing or straining, to all modifications of character and varieties

of situation: in a word, the true μολύβδινος κάνων[g], never failing to indicate to the honest workman the right proportions of the fabric of his own happiness, though too often thrown aside by the builder, on account of the apparent meanness of its material.

We need hardly remind the reader, that all this is spoken hypothetically. We are not now assuming, that Holy Scripture answers this description, but only endeavouring to point out the necessity of confessing, that if it do, it must come from God. We will now endeavour to follow the train of reasoning in which Mr. Miller has asserted its claim, though with an increasing consciousness of our inability to give that reasoning in any thing like its real force, and, consequently, with an increasing desire that our readers should examine and judge it for themselves.

Having stated his fundamental proposition as above, his next step is to interpose a caution as to the antecedent necessity of external evidences, existing somewhere, before we can safely ground our faith upon it. There is always danger, when a man is expounding a favourite argument, especially if there be anything original in his view of it, that he may be tempted to exalt it by the undue depreciation of its fellows. It was with great satisfaction, therefore, that we read the following paragraph, in which Mr. Miller has shewn himself thoroughly on his guard against a similar error; and has besides stated the mutual relation which exists between the two great divisions of the evidences, in what appears to us a peculiarly happy and instructive manner.

"That we may not be supposed to proceed blindly, without respect of necessary conditions, let it be acknowledged, that such an argument (however plausible a case might be made out upon it) could not be admitted to avail at all[h], if it were not, beforehand, really the judgment of wise, and learned, and honest

[g] Aristot. Eth. Nic., l. v. c. 10.

[h] Perhaps this is a little too strongly expressed. For what if a man has mislaid his "title-deeds"? yet long prescription, and actual enjoyment, may warrant his living and dying in the belief that such and such estates are his own. —Rev.

men, that external and historical proofs of Christianity have been abundantly and reasonably established. For though internal evidence may be, and is, in sterling weight, as much superior to external, as a saving faith is to a mere historical assent; yet there is an *introductory* character and office belonging to the latter, which renders it absolutely indispensable. External and historical proofs form, as it were, the *title-deeds* of our inheritance. To these, therefore, we must at least always be able to have recourse; we must know where they are; whether, in particular instances, we can then interpret them fully for ourselves, or only through assistance of others. But the possession and safe-keeping of them somewhere, is essential[i]."

Two reasons are then given to justify the selection of such a topic before a learned and academical audience: to which we may refer by-and-by, when we come to consider the practical effect of the whole. And thus, the ground being cleared before him, he draws out the plan of his operations in few words, as follows:—

"We shall first state what we conceive to be the *manner of appeal* now made by the Most High to us His reasonable creatures, by presenting a view of Christianity as the *dispensation of the Spirit*. Certain important deductions, arising from this view, will then be considered, and proposed for acceptance as Christian axioms.

"By this process, foundation being laid for viewing Holy Scripture connectedly, as was proposed, we shall go on to *assert its divine authority from its wonderful, intuitive correspondence with the general state of human nature*. Which assertion being, in two following Lectures, practically exhibited to the reader's own impartial judgment, in a selection of examples; we shall, in the seventh Lecture, consider the fulness of Holy Scripture to satisfy the wants and wishes of an *individual* Christian: and in the last, its adaptation to his condition, as a traveller, *in company*, through an imperfect world[j]."

It appears to us that the arrangement here proposed is capable of a material improvement. We wish most unfeignedly to defer to the author's judgment, upon points, especially, which he has evidently examined with such deep and searching attention: but we feel so confident

[i] pp. 18, 19. [j] p. 25.

that his single object is to do good, and that a right comprehension and reception of his argument, generally, would do the greatest good, that we are not afraid of displeasing him by any hint, which may seem to have a chance of contributing to that object. We venture therefore to say, that from the best consideration we have been able to give to the matter, it would have been more in the natural order, and more agreeable to the general scope of his work, if the argument from the Scriptural delineation of man, which forms the substance of the fourth and fifth Lectures, had been placed before that drawn from the progressive nature of the appeal from God to man, and consequent difference of the two Testaments, which is expounded and enforced in the second and third. That is to say (recurring to an analogy which has proved useful to us before), the knowledge of the physician being first shewn by his exact description of the disease and constitution of the patient, his skill and kindness would afterwards more abundantly appear, upon enquiry into the method and order in which he had applied his remedies. As it is, the links by which the doctrine of the second and third Lectures is tied to the general chain of reasoning, are hardly apparent enough: the point of view in which our author himself has presented that doctrine in his general sketch, being simply that of "a foundation for viewing Holy Scripture connectedly:" whereby it is rendered merely preparatory to his main argument. Whereas in fact it is a very material branch of the same; the manner and order in which a revelation was conducted, being just as capable of supplying internal evidence in its behalf, as the substance of the revelation itself. We conjecture that Mr. Miller's reason for taking the course he has done, was his anxiety to avoid giving offence by some parts of the view which he has given of the Old Testament history in his fourth Lecture: which danger is certainly completely obviated by remembering the *continuity* of the two parts of Scripture, which it is the object of the two preceding Lectures to point out. But the connection of the Old Testament with the New, though often sadly

misstated as a point of theology, and still more sadly neglected as to its practical consequences, is granted by every Christian as a matter of fact. And a bare appeal to it, as such, would have been sufficient to silence the scruples here referred to.

For these reasons, in the brief analysis of Mr. Miller's argument which we are now about to attempt, we shall take leave to invert the order of it so far, as to give the substance of the fourth and fifth Lectures first. We do it rather as an experiment than as anything else, and not without much fear and trembling, lest we render ourselves liable to that just censure upon meddling critics in theology,—

"Fools rush in, where Angels fear to tread."

It is required to prove, that holy Scripture, practically received, will be found thoroughly adapted to the real state of human nature. In order to which it is asserted, *First*, that the direct representations, which it gives, of the nature and circumstances of man, are universally true and adequate. *Secondly*, that the order and succession of the means, which it represents God as employing for the happiness of man, are such as we might expect them to be, reasoning, not upon abstract notions of wisdom and goodness, but by analogy from the actual constitution and course of nature. *Thirdly*, that the means themselves are such, as to leave us nothing to desire either for our individual comfort or for our social conduct; provided only we will sincerely embrace them.

Our first position,—the position of Mr. Miller's fourth and fifth Lectures is, that the Bible is a true and adequate picture of human nature, under all varieties of character and of fortune. We may say of it as was said of its divine Author, "it knows what is in man." And so he who has adopted it for his guide would expect *à priori*: namely, that it should be such a code as to leave no doubt on the face of it, that it was meant for subjects such as himself.

Now if Scripture thoroughly answer this expectation, the smaller the size of the Book, and the less proportion

of it is directly preceptive, the more convincing the argument for its divine authority.

"It is a volume such as a child may carry in his hand; and even of this small substance a large portion is taken up with 'history;' a good deal by the provisions of a 'ceremonial law,' now abrogated; a large share again by 'prophecy;' and a good deal also by 'controversial reasoning,' mixed up with the exhortations of the apostolical Epistles. There remains, of *positive Law*, and matter *directly preceptive*, a sum extraordinarily small: and yet the volume is adequate (in the believer's apprehension) to meet all the contingent variety of cases which may arise in human actions.

"Now if this be so, if Scripture be indeed found such a sure and comprehensive guide, we contend for *this* inference; that it never could have been within the grasp of any mind, such as we have seen and known men like ourselves to bear, so to enclose all the licentiousness of man's practice within the fence of so very narrow a prescription. It is the character of human legislation to *multiply* statutes and prohibitions: which indeed (when we come to reflect upon the matter) appears to be of necessity the character of a legislation that is in fact *retrospective;* whose ordinances are built upon 'experience' only, and whose fulness and accuracy must depend upon the sum of knowledge in the legislators, at the period of enacting their statutes. The ordinances of the divine mind are of a very different character; founded on a thorough previous acquaintance with the very secrets of all hearts, which ever have been, are, or are to come. They are simple and *prospective;* their foundation is not experience, but something antecedent to experience; a full, perfect, and unerring insight into all the possibilities of nature. Human statutes, therefore, may be multiplied almost to infinity, and yet be very imperfect. The statutes of God are few and brief; and yet can no extravagance of conduct, arising from the most rebellious free-will, prove itself diversified enough to escape them. Were the Bible not divine, it would have failed by *excess of precept*. It would have attempted *too much*. We should discover the weakness of a *secondary* mind, through the very pains that would be taken to prove itself an *all-sufficient* one[k]."

Take for example the Hindoo Vedas, the most au-

[k] Lect. iv.

thentic instance that we can quote, of a revelation probably forged by persons who had no previous acquaintance with the Scriptures. Every one knows how minute and cumbrous they are.

"Artis est celare artem; and we believe that none, except the first and great Artificer, He that fashioned man in the beginning, and all the structure of the universe, could have devised such a code as that of Scripture, containing with so much simplicity, in so very small a compass, such treasure of wisdom, as appears the more inexhaustible, in proportion as it is the more scrutinized.

"But then, we do not look, in this view, to *direct precept* alone. For the book of God's law neither conveys its force to the heart of the believer by direct precept only, nor by inference from direct precept only, but *the whole matter of it is 'life and Spirit.'* It addresses itself to spiritual faculties. By the light of its *principles*, its history becomes *precept;* its prophetic denunciations, *counsel;* its very controversies, rich lessons of practical instruction. It is *an appeal to human nature.* It stoops to meet man as he is, in order to conduct him where he *ought to be*[1]."

As an indirect proof of its doing so, "it is provided, in its very foundation, with an anticipative answer to all objections merely philosophical or speculative:" namely, by its silence with respect to points physical and abstract, as such: insomuch that no cavils drawn from such grounds can have place against it. Now this is what might be expected, not from man himself, but from a Being who knew man's peculiar snare; viz. the pride of knowledge tending to unbelief, and to a rebellious excepting against the ways of his Maker. That this *is* man's peculiar snare, all experience since the fall shews: and not least the experience of this age, in which geological phænomena, algebraical calculations, and anatomical metaphysics, have severally been ransacked for objections to the truth of a book, in which not one word either of geology, algebra, or anatomy, is to be found. Are we affirming too much, when we say that the experience of many mathematical students must furnish them with a fact strongly in con-

[1] pp. 81—83.

firmation of this remark? To us, we confess, over and above the tendency which the exercise of pure demonstration certainly has, to dull our perception of moral evidence, it appears to exert a sort of benumbing influence on our social and kindly feelings. We fancy that we find in practice a kind of repulsion between the operations of the speculative and the moral faculties, so that when we pass from one to the other, there is always something of an effort. Abstract speculation is apt to seem "cold, strained, and ridiculous," to those who have just quitted society, by the confession of one whom even Infidels will allow to be a competent judge[m], and who assuredly did not think very meanly of his own theories: and on the other hand, the absent and unsocial manners of many great mathematicians testify, that they feel no pleasure in descending from their flights through pure unembarrassed space, to look at the varied and puzzling realities of human life. But if the pursuit of demonstrable truth have indeed this tendency, to keep the mind of man intent upon its own operations only, and thoroughly satisfied with itself (a tendency which has been numbered among its excellencies by one[n] who loved it so well as to place human happiness in it), then its tendency to make man self-sufficient and independent of his Maker must be granted also. And if it be moreover so fascinating in itself, that the danger arising from it would be the very last that a speculative impostor would be conscious of, then whatever precaution we find taken in the Bible against that danger ought to strengthen our faith in the holy Book, as "discovering a previous contemplation of the habits and faculties of man, and an adequate provision for their wholesome direction[o]."

As an additional mark of the same gracious purpose, Mr. Miller has adduced the account which Scripture gives of the shortening the life of man. The farther we advance in knowledge, the more trying does the temptation of it become: we may therefore suppose, that if life were continued much longer, it would to superior minds be

[m] Mr. Hume. See Bp. Horne's "Letter to Dr. A. Smith." [n] See Aristotle's "Ethics," b. 10. [o] p. 91.

absolutely irresistible. Therefore it is most consistent with the mercy and goodness of a Being who knows what is in man, to lessen the temptation by shortening the term of life. The Bible bears witness to such a provision: and thereby gives one sign more that it is the true record of the proceedings of such a Being. Perhaps also the confusion of tongues may not without reason be considered in the same light.

We are dwelling too long upon this point, which after all is merely subordinate to Mr. Miller's argument; but it is of such paramount practical importance, that we will hazard yet an additional remark upon it. If the pure intellect, the highest faculty of the natural man, be peculiarly liable to the temptation of pride, might not its danger be expected to be still greater, when enlightened and sublimed, as it is in the spiritual man, by the revelation of still higher truths, and the addition of a new mode of research, a new principle of belief? it being always granted, that life continues to the end a state of probation, and that the illuminating grace of the Gospel may itself be abused by the perverse will of him to whom it is offered. In a word, if intellectual pride is so probable and so deadly a downfall to the natural man, have we not reason to expect and dread the appearance of spiritual pride in the believer? This is what conscience and history would affirm; and in this respect also Scripture will be found wonderfully in unison with both. Who knows not the warnings of the New Testament against anything like trust in a mere knowledge of the truths it reveals, as likely above all things to puff a man up? And yet the logical inferences from the truths themselves are of the most humbling nature: how then, but from an intuitive discernment of the spiritual wickednesses which beset man in his high places; of the proud delight, which he is too apt to take in the mere exercise of his spiritual faculties, without respect to their Giver or their end; could the necessity of such warnings have occurred to the Apostles? If St. Paul had been an impostor, or an uninspired, though never so wise and benevolent, enthusiast,

would he have spoken of the external means, by which his system was to be promulgated, as he has spoken of the gifts of Tongues, Prophecy, and Miracles, in the thirteenth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians? would he have represented them as utterly worthless and negative towards procuring the salvation of the individual possessing them?

So much for the *indirect* evidence to be found in the Bible, that its author possessed a perfect and prospective knowledge of our tendency to abuse our highest faculties by pride; the last discovery (if it be at all within our reach) that we should ever have made for ourselves.

Proceed we now to the direct and positive evidence of this truth,—that the Bible is a faithful picture of the real state of human nature. It is evident, that the most satisfactory proof of which this proposition is capable, is what each individual may furnish to himself by an induction from facts presented to him by his own consciousness and observation. But there is an argument from general considerations, which renders it, antecedently to such induction, exceedingly probable. This argument is deduced from a general survey of the contents of the Bible, combined with certain matters-of-fact as to the present state of men's minds concerning it. And thus it stands:—

Suppose a man, well versed in classical and modern literature, by some strange accident never to have seen or heard of the Bible; suppose it to meet his eye by chance, in some idle hour, and that he sits down to peruse it with about as much attention as people are apt to give to books of no immediate practical interest to themselves; in the same cursory way in which, from the ignorance they generally shew of its contents, we have a right to assume that most infidels read it. Is it too much to affirm, that whether he considered it as professing to be a revealed code of doctrine, or a treasure of historical information, he would find it (beginning with the first chapter of Genesis, and reading regularly on) very much at variance with his previous conceptions of what such a thing ought to be; very much out of taste;

nay, we must venture to say, rather on the whole, shocking and repulsive? The piety of many, we are well aware, will be likely to shrink from such a declaration as this; and infidelity will welcome it as a decisive concession. But if these first impressions were overcome, and each would examine the matter for himself, the result, we are persuaded, would be very different. The believer would find matter of comfort and thankfulness in it; the unbeliever would be judged out of his own mouth.

The characteristic of Holy Scripture, upon which Mr. Miller grounds this opinion, is its virtual recognition, both in its laws, and exhortations, and historical details, of the actual depravity of mankind. Without apology, palliation, or mitigation, it proceeds upon an assumed certainty, that such and such sins are in the world, and that, if we are not expressly warned against them, we stand in danger of falling into them. The consequence of which is, that

"even the satirists of antiquity do not leave an impression on the mind of such debasement, as results from the solemn denunciations of the Bible."

Now, this is equally contrary to the notion we should form *à priori* of its office as a revelation, and as a history. For,

"as far as we can bring ourselves to form any speculative notion or conception of a record of revelation, *by itself*: (which, however, it is not very easy, on several accounts, to do); shall we not invest it with something of a *noble* character; free from the taint, and *possible* approach of fleshly impurities; as bright in morals as the sun is bright in the firmament; magnificent, elevated, refined? Is not this the *sort* of character which any one would try to give it, who *invented* a book, which he desired to pass off for an original revelation[p]?"

We must not, he then truly reminds us, in order to answer this question, have recourse to revelations forged by such as had a previous knowledge of Scripture: neither, we may add, to those which were entirely the production

[p] p. 94.

of a rude and barbarous age. But the fairest comparison, perhaps, that we can make, will be with those brief notices scattered up and down the writings of the ancient philosophers, and particularly Plato, by which they have shewn us at least thus much; what *sort* of an idea their "abstract idea of a revelation" was; they expected it to be something which would exalt our conception of man's intellectual nature, at the expense of his animal frame; something which would shew all the evil in the world to be rather physical than moral. Take for example that eloquent passage in the Phædon [q], in which Socrates describes the several conditions of the purified and the unclean spirit after death.

Further; those Christians themselves, who would be most likely to object to our present view of Scripture, bear witness to the accuracy of it, many of them, by another part of their conduct.

"For, is it not the shrinking of a sensitive delicacy, a consciousness of innate propensity to wrong, a fear of the subtle and contagious poison of impurity, that distressing, lively recurrence of the primæval sense of shame, *How knewest thou that thou wast naked?* that makes so many jealous of disseminating the Bible, as being even a *dangerous* book. Or again, is it not the melancholy detail of wickedness; and that, not among the depraved alone, but mixed up with the conduct of the very men recorded there, as favoured children of the Most High? is it not this, much more than local difficulties, or verbal obscurities, which has led good and pious persons to recommend curtailments and abridgments of it; or to fence it round so carefully with comments? which, again, has given rise to so many rash and irreverent criticisms; to imprudent freedom of concession, on the particular point of inspiration; and to that far too great reserve (in some time past) on the great subject of original depravity, *as vitally necessary to illustrate the Gospel*, which seems now to have produced (in part) in our own Church, an overwhelming violence of *reaction*, such as threatens to confound all men alike in a vague and general spirit of self crimination, not *convincing*, because not *intelligible* [r]?"

Lastly, it is manifest that modern unbelievers reject

[q] cap. 29, 30. [r] pp. 98, 99.

Christianity on this very ground, that it is an "unattractive creed:" and what it is wherein they find it so unattractive they shew plainly enough, whenever they set about a theory of their own. They are sure to represent man as much better than he is.

"It appears, then, to be altogether improbable; contrary, at once, to the main scope and tenor of all the writings of 'classical antiquity;' to the thoughts and wishes of sober-minded, but speculative Christians themselves; and to the conclusions of modern unbelievers, the theorists of an ideal perfectibility, (and let it be well considered what the force of that improbability must be, in which the sentiments of three such varieties of persons as these unite,) that man, writing for his own purposes, and from the dictation of his own faculties only, should originally either have conceived the prohibitions, or ventured on the proposal of a law, involving such a representation of man and human nature, as the code of the Old Testament exhibits, with a view to the conviction or controul of any persons whatsoever. True, certain, as the representations are, *man* could not have *dared* to give them utterance, depending on his own strength alone; even if we can suppose it possible, that, at so early a period, he should have had such insight into truth[8]."

Our author argues to the same effect from the topics selected, and tone maintained in the *historical* parts of the Old Testament. We were obliged, we confess, to hesitate a little at first as to the soundness of some part of his reasoning here. It is so difficult (notwithstanding what he has observed in p. 96) to say how much of the nakedness and repulsiveness, observable in the Scripture details of guilt, may be attributable, after all, to the manners and circumstances of the times in which they were written. Certainly, the impression produced by Homer and Herodotus is very humiliating, and in many parts offensive. But then it must be observed, that Holy Scripture has no *favourites*, whereas Homer and Herodotus, and we believe all human historians, have. The pen of the inspired chronicler is as firm and untrembling, when it denounces the aberrations of the most exemplary

[8] p. 100.

of his countrymen or ancestors, as if he were merely transcribing an atrocious legend of some barbarians on the other side of the earth. Not so the human annalist; like the handmaid of the dying Cleopatra, who was found

"trimming up the diadem
On her dead mistress; *tremblingly* she stood[t];"

he is careful to keep the ensigns of royalty on the sinking fame of his country[u]. After all, if the fact be granted, that the historical details of the Old Testament, generally, are of this revolting kind, it makes no difference to our present argument, which way we account for it; whether we ascribe it to the author, or to the subject-matter. In either case, the conclusion we are contending for must stand, viz. that it is not a book, which, if we could divest it of its religious character, we should dwell upon, as a history, with any peculiar pleasure.

It will not be sufficient to object, here, that we are looking unfairly to the Old Testament history alone: for it is a certain truth, though often lost sight of, that almost all the saddest and most degrading representations of human guilt which the Law and the Prophets exhibit, whether in their prohibitions or in their narratives, are as it were designedly adopted, studiously quoted and brought into notice, in the Gospels and Epistles. The references of our Saviour and His Apostles to the stories of Lot and Balaam[v]; the pointed mention, in his genealogy, by St. Matthew, of some of the darkest chapters in Jewish history; and the deplorable enumerations of the vices of the heathen and apostate world[x] by St. Paul, are as it were the seal of the Angel of the New Covenant affixed to the most alarming denunciations of the Old: even to those clauses of it which, for the honour

[t] "Ant. and Cleop.," act v. sc. 2.

[u] Compare in illustration of this, the three last chapters of the Book of Judges with Thucydides' account of the Corcyraean sedition, and his remarks on it, lib. iii. cap. 70—84.

[v] S. Luke xvii. 28, 29, 32; 2 S. Pet. ii. 6—8, 15, 16; S. Jude 7.

[x] Comp. Rom. i. 29—32, with 1 Tim. i. 9, 10.

of human nature, one should most wish to have become obsolete.

This being at first sight the character of the Bible: as a revelation, most opposite, in so vital and prominent a point, to what man would have invented; as a history, most unlike what man would have delighted in: it is matter of fact that it is received by thousands, and tens of thousands, as the very joy and comfort of their souls; that parents make haste to teach it their children; that refined, tender, and delicate women, who would not venture the sole of their foot upon such ground, as a similar course of profane history would lead them over, find in it a daily and hourly companion, a dear and bosom friend. Finally, that those even, who from consciousness how it must appear at first sight, are most afraid to trust it in the hands of their weaker brethren, would yet rather suffer any earthly privation, than lose one jot or one tittle of it, or be cut off from constant access to it themselves.

"Bring the *collected body* of the picture, hereby presented, to the mind's eye, *at once*, and look at *these* familiar sights within our own experience. A thing unpalatable in itself, distasteful, nay repulsive, is with one consent pronounced by *all*, who have once, in sincerity, accepted it, to be their very health, and strength, and most exquisite relish. A simplicity, open to the bitterest scorn, appears at once transmuted into an enlightened candour; a nakedness, so unconcealed, is at once covered with a veil of modesty; a plainness of speech, manifestly exposed to ridicule, comes to appear the very evidence of reality and truth; difficulties, and subjects of cavil, (in number almost as many, as in substance they are unimportant), all at once present themselves as fit subjects only for a temper of silent reverence, and more severe self introspection:—these are phænomena, in the believer's case, which we shall observe, and must secretly account for to ourselves.

"Again; while this is so, there is evidently no *miracle* at work. We see the gross and 'natural' impressions of the book still exerting their *own* influence upon the mind of the unbeliever. The voices of scorn and laughter are still levelled at those very things, in which *we* perceive no *room* for ridicule. We can

clearly trace the swellings of an intellectual pride in the breast of the scorner, as though he had found a *purer justice* for himself, and a *nobler wisdom*, and saw and could expose weakness and injustice *there*, where his fellow-man no longer doubts that there is both equity and power; these are appearances, in the opposing case, which must be accounted for too.

"But there is only *one* way of accounting for both[y]."

It is not from any intellectual inferiority in the mass of believers. In that respect, let it be granted that they are equal to their antagonists; that surely cannot be denied, and we consent to claim no more. It is not from the mere force of early prejudice, stopping their ears to all objections: for the scruples above-mentioned prove that in all who feel them at least (and they are a very large proportion of educated Christians) the reception of those parts of the Bible, in regard to which they are felt, must have been, at some time, against the grain; and besides, the facts and doctrines in question are of too humbling and revolting a nature, and too open to confutation from experience, to be forced upon any considering person, if they were false, by any power of tyrant custom.

The power of Faith is thus confirmed, and the surest consolation derived, from those very circumstances in Scripture, which at first sight appeared to the pious and sensitive mind most anomalous and distressing. For the argument seems now fairly brought to this point: that as long as a single believer (we mean a thoughtful, practical believer) exists in the world, the fact of his belief will be to the Infidel a difficulty not to be got over, without supposing him to find the Scripture by experiment true as to his particular: whereas to the believer the very ground of his faith would furnish an explanation of its rejection, though he found himself, as once Athanasius, standing single against an empire[z]. Such an one may say to himself, Let the Infidel account if he can for these things: to me they now present no difficulty what-

[y] pp. 103, 104. [z] See Hooker's "Eccl. Pol.," b. v. 42.

ever: for I am in possession of a secret, which fully explains both the startling nature of the communication and the incredulity with which it is received.

"Place the light of REDEMPTION at the boundary of these darker views and records: let it be seen, that the sufferings and death of JESUS CHRIST, THE SON OF THE MOST HIGH GOD, were the realities to which all former shadows, and dispensations, and preparations led: let it be thought, what a sum and character of guiltiness must have been in man, at once to require and to justify this transcendent mystery: let it be considered, that, as the comprehension of all nations within the saving benefits of that aweful sacrifice, was, and is, the divine purpose, *therefore* His own recorded word must be of a tendency and power, not calculated to flatter human pride, but to abase it; that man may come *through trial of his spirit* into heaven: let it be perceived and felt, that *the picture of ourselves*, which the Bible exhibits, is a *real* one; that the original Inspirer of that holy Volume assuredly *knew what was in man* from the very beginning: that He there tells man *truth*, for man's own good; that man's *happiness* is His desire:—place the light of *these* considerations, as a beacon, at the end of the inquiry, and the Word of God becomes indeed *a lamp unto our feet, and a light unto our paths*. The waters of Marah are sweetened now; the death that was before in the pottage is turned into life."

It need hardly be pointed out, how much this view of Scripture adds to the force of our reasoning in support of Mr. Miller's assumption, That, if it indicate perfect knowledge of human nature, it must be of divine origin. For the more perfect that knowledge was in a merely human impostor or enthusiast, the more unlikely would he have been to frame his code with so little respect to the first feelings of those whom he would convince. None but a Being, who held in His hand some higher means of spiritual conviction than any man possesses, could have so exposed him to himself with any hope of doing him good.

A necessary condition, however, of this faith would be that as far as his own conscience and observation tell him, he should find the Scripture account of human

wickedness *true*. That is, that "no crime should be recorded in the Bible, of which man was never known to be capable; nor any left out, of which he is known to have been guilty." In other words, that while the picture of man there presented should be on the whole dark and distressing, yet it should be by no means one of unmingled depravity. And such in fact we find it. There is a caution tempering the boldness of its gloomiest delineations, which could have belonged to no sketches but those drawn by the finger of Truth. Herein it stands essentially distinguished from the cold and baneful systems of the few modern unbelievers, such as Hobbes and Mandeville, who chose to take the dark side in their estimate of mankind: cheerless, heartless men, whose pencil blackened whatever it touched: who treat their fellow-creatures as if the debasing fables of Scandinavian lore were already realized, and the triumph of the evil principle begun. Holy Scripture does not so; she is most unequivocal indeed in her declarations that the mass of guilt in this present world is larger than man can calculate; yet does she by no means assert, in the heaviest clauses of its arraignment, that there is now, or ever was, *nothing* but guilt in it: and the tenor of her historical narratives, attentively considered, will be always found to imply the contrary. And is not this just what good men find to be the case in real life? It is most true, that, look which way we will, we meet everywhere "with two most sad spectacles, sin and misery, God dishonoured every day, and man afflicted[a]." Yet, is there any case so bad as not to leave a glimmering of hope? any individual without one, or two, or twenty good points, to rise up in judgment against us if we utterly reprobate him? As therefore it is a sound rule in common life, to make up our minds beforehand, that in those whom we admire most there is some evil, and in those for whom we fear most some good, though neither perhaps be yet discernible by us: so the Scripture doctrine of original and actual sin, being no more than this same position generalized and accounted for, is found strictly in accordance with real

[a] Herbert's "Country Parson," c. 27.

observation. And it is grievously to be lamented, that many good and wise men should have so far forgotten this, as to have given, unnecessarily, double ground of grievous offence, by stating the doctrine of man's guiltiness as if God had positively declared it equal in every case, and infinite in all. We say, "double ground of offence:" for it is notorious, that to the speculative unbeliever this statement must be a stumbling-block, because it seems immediately to contradict experience; and to the practical one it supplies an excuse too sure to be taken hold of, in the encouragement which it gives him to lay his own sin upon Adam's, or upon his Maker; in its tendency to foster that worse kind of fatalism, whereby we look upon certain crimes as matters of course, much to be regretted indeed, but as regularly to be expected in certain seasons and situations, as fog in autumn, or blight in spring. But on this delicate subject we would rather use Mr. Miller's words, than our own. Here is his representation of the tenor of Scripture concerning it:—

"While, not to discover a full and intimate acquaintance with the quality and compass of evil itself would be—not to have a perfect insight into the truth; and yet, to display the power of that evil otherwise than as it is seen practically existing in its effects, would not be to give that real likeness of ourselves which we seek and expect; it becomes evident, that in narrations, or records of whatever kind, which set forth the lives and actions of men in every varied stage of moral responsibility, (and that, under the influence not only of rational motives, but of a supernatural grace also, more or less, from the very beginning): we cannot look for any other representation, than of some such mixture of good and evil conduct as the corresponding varieties of man, diversely influenced, present to our own sight at this day. We think that both the descriptions given by the earlier Scripture, and the principles to be inferred from them, are exactly what they need to be[b]."

Here, again, is the practical warning, which he deduces from this representation:—

[b] pp. 113, 114.

"With respect to original depravity, seeing that a conviction of the doctrine itself, and not of its degrees, is what concerns our everlasting peace, that we may apprehend the method of our restoration, I ask whether it seems possible to assume particulars with equal certainty as to its precise *limits?* more especially, whether it be fair to assume its extent to be *without* limit, under an impartial balance of Scripture history? And if the facts of Scripture history be (as we contend they are) the facts of human nature; if neither in our forefathers, nor in ourselves, we can honestly discover other features than those belonging to a race of accountable and improveable beings, both passing as sojourners and pilgrims through the same scene of moral discipline, the same positive impediments; if we perceive that both *they* were *very wicked*, and so are *we;* but if, neither in them nor in ourselves, we can precisely unfold the operations of grace, as distinct from those of our natural faculties; if we cannot, among *either*, detect and satisfactorily shew, except it be in a few cases avowedly miraculous, the influence of any *irresistible* controul; if a faith, of which we trust and dare to say that it must be a true and living faith, can *without* any such interpretation approve itself to the consciences alike and understandings of men evidently wise and learned, and by their lives proved to be spiritually minded; what shall forbid that the evidence of facts be received at once, in arbitration, to restrain our confidence of assertion, as to the specific point of the measure and degree of this original taint among persons now very unequally advanced in the progress of their moral probation[c]?"

The tone and spirit which Mr. Miller has preserved in his selection of Scripture examples to uphold his main proposition, are exactly in harmony with these sentiments; just such as might be expected from this singular union of mildness and discretion, with firm and decisive judgment, on the most delicate perhaps of all points of Christian Doctrine. We will not weaken the impression of the passages he has brought forward, by reducing them to a dry catalogue, or by extracting one or two only, when our readers must be aware that their conclusiveness depends upon the joint effect of them all, and of innumerable others like unto them. But we do most earnestly re-

[c] pp. 115, 116.

commend all who love the Bible—we will not say, merely to examine his reasoning as it stands in his book: satisfactory as we are persuaded such an enquiry would prove, it would give a very inadequate idea of the exceeding weight of moral evidence by which his argument is in fact supported: to judge of that, they must take the clue, which he has given, into their own hands, and use it for themselves in their own study of the Scriptures: they must watch whether there be a single one amongst the daily obliquities of their own conduct and temper, a single crime recorded in history, or forced upon their notice by passing experience, against which this book has forgotten to warn us; a single act of self-deceit, or excuse for sin, which it has neglected to meet and confute beforehand. To do this aright will indeed require some patience, some proficiency in the Christian temper, and a severe watchfulness over ourselves; lest we peevishly abuse doubtful clauses into hints of condemnation which were never intended; or presumptuously and uncharitably pry into our neighbour's conduct for the sake of applying texts to it; or refine too nicely upon fancied points of comparison, so as to wrest out of its proper direction what may have been indeed intended to be merely local or personal. But let all these errors be scrupulously excluded, let the enquiry be carried on according to the most rigorous rules which common sense can invent for the interpretation of laws and precedents, (with reference of course to the peculiar pretensions of the Book,) and we cannot imagine the result doubtful in the breast of any candid man. Not only the grosser crimes which meet our eye in the registers of Prisons and Courts of Justice: not only those more serious and habitual deformities of conduct and disposition, which embitter and disgrace domestic life; but even the infirmities and inconsistencies of good men, the defects which remain as thorns in the flesh to disquiet Christian society in its most improved state, and convince us feelingly, that we have the seed of evil yet abiding in us: all are there so paralleled and exemplified, that while we are fully warned of their hurtful tendency in ourselves, we are no less in-

structed to bear with them, and interpret them charitably in others. Joseph's evil report of his brethren, the dispute between St. Paul and St. Barnabas, St. Peter's withdrawing himself from communion with the Gentiles to quiet the gainsayers at Antioch, and Martha, cumbered about much serving, and discontented at her sister's not helping her; are instances of the kind we mean: we mention them, not as the fittest, but as the first, which occur to us. Paley has pointed out how decisive such traits are for the verification of Holy Scripture as a history, with a view to the establishment of the external evidences of our religion. Perhaps they may seem no less important to the relation in which we are now considering it: viz. as a set of exemplary truths intended to exhibit a perfect portrait of human nature.

The instances which Mr. Miller has selected in his fifth Lecture are of a graver kind, and several of them studiously taken from those parts of holy writ at which the "natural man" has always shewn himself most ready to take offence. This, the course of his argument required.

"There is, moreover," he observes, "a circumstance connected with all these more afflictive narrations, of the very greatest importance, and which (in its full compass, at any rate) I conceive to be altogether peculiar to the records and the prohibitions of Scripture. I mean, that whether it be the express edict of a *law* that is before us, to bring it to our observation, or only the chronicle of a too real *history*, gross offence is never represented to us but in connection with the divine displeasure. The *sin* of Scripture uniformly finds its perpetrator out[d]. If there be not a penalty by law directly denounced, there is divine justice visibly executed; or if not this immediately, and on the instant, yet indirectly it is sure to appear in the sequel of the offender's history; either simply in the shape of suffering, or more pointedly in some congenerous retaliation. *With the froward*, we shall discover the Almighty always *froward;* we shall always meet *the curse of the Lord in the house of the wicked*[e]."

This is, indeed, an observation of the very greatest importance; sufficient, both to silence at once the charge

[d] Numbers xxxii. 23.

[e] pp. 121, 122.

of an useless display of guilt in Holy Scripture, and also to put such a mark of distinction between it and all other histories, as a very little reflection will shew us could only have been stamped by His hand, whose "way is in the sea, and his paths in the great waters, and whose footsteps are not" positively "known" to any creature, without special revelation from Himself.

With this remark we take leave of Mr. Miller's first argument for the divine authority of Holy Scripture: that, namely, which is drawn from its representation of the nature, conduct, and circumstances of mankind. A subject, upon which the longer we meditate, the more thoroughly do we feel ourselves rooted and grounded in this most consoling, yet most aweful, conclusion: that as Pascal said of the Jewish nation, that they proved Christianity, either by receiving Christ, or by rejecting Him; by receiving Him, from conviction of His miracles, or by rejecting Him, in fulfilment of their prophecies: so we may say of all mankind. It is impossible for any one of us, in any conjuncture of circumstances, to avoid being a witness to the truth of the Bible. If he will not become so of his own accord, by leading the life it enjoins, he must against his will, by acting the wickedness it warns him of. And thus that sublime saying of the apocryphal Wisdom of Solomon[f] is fulfilled in a wiser sense than it was first spoken in: "The world" (the moral no less than the natural world) is found "fighting for the righteous."

[f] chap. viii. 27.

PASTORAL TRACTS.

CHURCH MATTERS IN 1850.

I. TRIAL OF DOCTRINE.

"The Priest's lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth; for he is the messenger of the Lord of Hosts."—*Malachi* ii. 7.

IN these days of general redress of grievances, there is one body whose claims appear to be in a remarkable way passed over by statesmen, yet a very simple statement will shew that it has wrongs and disabilities to complain of, such as can hardly be reconciled with any fair rule of political dealing. That body is the Church of England.

I purpose, in a few consecutive papers, to set forth as clearly and correctly as I can, without ornament or declamation, some of our main grievances; feeling with a sorrowful heart, that they are every day affecting us more and more vitally. And I wish here in the outset to say, that I desire to be as far as possible from accusing any special person or party. It seems to me that most of the anomalies and hardships which I have to enumerate may very well have arisen from oversight, without any oppressive intention. Great changes, every one knows, have from time to time been made in our civil Constitution; and the effect of those changes on the Church was not always perceived beforehand. When our wrongs have been fairly set forth, and redress finally and deliberately refused, then, and not before, will it be time to complain of oppression.

The first grievance which I shall mention, because at this moment it is the most pressing, is the power given to the Judicial Committee of Her Majesty's Privy Council to decide finally in Church causes; more especially in causes of heresy, or any other which involve the decision of disputed points of doctrine.

What is the constitution of that Court?

By the combined operation of the statutes 2 & 3 Wm. IV. c. 92, and 3 & 4 Wm. IV. c. 41, such Privy Councillors as are the Judges of certain Courts for the time being, or such as have held the same offices before, together with the Lord President and two Privy Councillors specially named by the Crown, are made final Judges in all appeals from the Courts of the Church of England; and among the rest, in causes of heresy. For instance, a Clergyman being by his Bishop judged unfit for a certain cure of souls by reason of doctrine which the Bishop thinks heretical, has appealed first to the Archbishop, who by his deputy has confirmed the Bishop's sentence; and thereupon the Clergyman has appealed to this Judicial Committee, the question being, Whether what he holds be heresy, and he the Clergyman, unfitted thereby for cure of souls? The cause has been heard, and is now awaiting their decision. Plainly, therefore, this Court has to decide what is the doctrine of the Church of England, and by its decision to controul the Bishops in their admission of Priests to cure of souls; and it would be just the same, were the point of doctrine the only point in the case. If a Bishop, for example, found it necessary to excommunicate a Layman for heresy, no civil right at all being concerned, but only the right of admission to holy Communion, this, and no other, would be the Court to decide the matter finally.

Now it is well that all thoughtful Englishmen should know of whom this Court is composed. Those who sit in it are, or have been, Judges appointed by the Crown; that is, in reality, by the Prime Minister for the time being, or by some one who was Prime Minister before him; and the Prime Minister, as we know, is virtually appointed by the majority of the House of Commons; and it is a settled principle with the House of Commons, as the discussions on education shew but too plainly, that the Church of England is no more than one sect among many. The authority, therefore, which really appoints this Court, is in principle alien to the Church: I do not say "hostile," but "alien." The Prime Ministers, who directly or indirectly nominate the members of the Com-

mittee, need not by law be Churchmen: neither need the members nominated, two only excepted,—the Lord Chancellor for the time being, and the Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury: neither of whom, as it happens, can sit in the cause now pending, both of them being indirectly interested parties; for the Chancellor is patron of the Clerk to whom the Bishop has refused institution, and the Judge of the Court of Arches is the person appealed from. So that this serious question, Whether Baptismal Regeneration must be taught in the Church of England or no? is on the point of being finally decided, not by any Church authority, but by six Laymen, not one of whom need be a Churchman; and one of whom, I believe, actually professes himself a Presbyterian. Further: the rule of the Court, I understand, is, that no notice is taken, in giving judgment, of any differences of opinion in the members of the Court. The judgment of the majority is pronounced, and stands; that majority being perhaps formed by one vote, and that not the vote of a Churchman. Thus it may very probably happen, that this exceedingly vital point of doctrine—a point which touches the Nicene Creed—a point which affects our whole course of ministration to souls, and most especially the education of our children—may be ruled finally by the opinion of some one Layman, who need not himself be at all in communion with the Church.

Is this a real grievance or no?

The fair way to judge, is to suppose it happening to Christians of any other denomination. Surely no one would think it fair, if Parliament were to pass an Act appointing a Committee of Churchmen to decide on the doctrines of the Wesleyans, and place or displace their Ministers, without consulting Conference, or any other authority recognised by the Wesleyan body.

Whatever our doctrines were, it would be a hard case, on any fair principle of religious liberty. But it is peculiarly hard in our case, because of the peculiar sacredness, in our view, of the prerogative on which the Judicial Committee intrudes. We hold that our Lord intrusted to His Church, and more especially to His Apostles and their

successors, the exclusive right to determine questions of this kind: making them "stewards of His mysteries," and the Church "the pillar and ground of the truth." Therefore the intrusion of aliens in such a matter strikes us as not only unjust, but profane. We have somewhat of the same kind of feeling, as if we saw a Sacrament insulted. What have we done, that our conscientious repugnance to such a state of the law should be slighted by the Legislature, when we shall have fairly expressed it, while the conscientious repugnance of some of our fellow-subjects to taking oaths, and to marrying in churches, has been rightly and equitably allowed for,—care being of course taken, as in their case, so in ours, that the public service shall not suffer?

Our being "established" (whatever that means) can hardly make so material a difference against us. The Presbyterians are "established" in Scotland: have they ever admitted, will they ever admit, would any one ever think it decent to ask them to admit, an enactment that certain of our lawyers should be a Court to determine who are heretics according to their confession or directory, and to overrule their Courts in matters of censure and absolution, or in admission to cure of souls? I do not mean indirectly, with a view to some temporal interest, as might occasionally be necessary in any Civil Court; but I mean direct jurisdiction in the matter of heresy itself, as a primary question, and apart from all temporal consequences: and I say, the Presbyterians would be, as it were, up in arms, if Parliament called on them to admit such authority.

Some one may reply, "No, *they* cannot admit it, but for you to argue in that way is too late. Grievance or not, you of the English Church have admitted what you complain of long ago. This mode of appeal, or one substantially the same with it, has with you been law ever since the Reformation. For three hundred years you have placidly acquiesced in it; and now, why should you suddenly turn and denounce it, as an intolerable wrong and profaneness?"

Now it ought to be a sufficient answer to this to say,

that a grievance is not the less a grievance because it has been acquiesced in for a long time. What would have become of all the Reforms which the present generation has witnessed, parliamentary, municipal, commercial, or other, if it had been held a sufficient answer to say to their promoters, "You have borne this for so many years, or centuries, therefore you cannot now be listened to in asking for amendment of it?"

Next, it has been well observed, in reference to this very question, that Englishmen are led by their national character to bear for a long time with anomalous and unfair laws, and not to account them as grievances until they are felt as such in action. Whatever be the reason, certain it is that this instance which is now pending is, if not the very first occasion, at least no more than the second, on which this Court (supposing it identical with the Court of Delegates which preceded it) has been called to decide a doubtful and important point of doctrine. The cases which have been quoted relate, I believe, all of them, either to trivial or to unquestionable points. The mind of the Church was not roused by them to any consciousness of her having intrusted to a merely Civil Court the authority now claimed. I speak for myself, and, I have no doubt, for the great majority of my brethren, when I say that we bore with this state of the law through ignorance. We had a vague notion, not that a Court so constituted was capable of deciding such points, but that all power of deciding them was for a time dormant in this Church. How often has the sentiment been heard, when conversation has turned on the divisions of opinion among Churchmen, touching this very point of Baptismal Regeneration, that it could not be settled without Convocation, and that perhaps the long silence of Convocation might be providential, to hinder the difference from proceeding to open schism! Right or wrong, the saying must be familiar to many: and it clearly implies a very general ignorance that there was no need of Convocation to decide the point, the Judicial Committee, or Court of Delegates, being at any time competent to do so. Now that our eyes are

opened by this very serious case, are we to be precluded from remonstrance, because, as a body, we have hitherto mistaken or overlooked the true meaning of the Law?

But thirdly, and chiefly, I say that we, the Clergy of the Church of England, never assented to the powers, claimed for this Court, of deciding doubtful points of doctrine: it is no part of the system to which we are pledged by our engagements: we have not, even ignorantly, committed ourselves to it in any manner. I do not mean that we are not bound by it in the sense in which all men are bound by the laws of their country, whether those laws be right or wrong; i.e. we ought to obey them, if we can do so with a safe conscience, and if not, we ought to submit to the penalty. We are bound to admit this Court's doctrinal authority, in the same sense as a conscientious Dissenter was bound to obey those old Acts of Parliament which fined him for not going to church. We must demur to the Law, and quietly take the consequences.

But this is what I wish to point out: that neither by any act of the Church as a body, nor yet by any oath or engagement which we have made as individuals, are we so committed to this Court, especially to its doctrinal authority, as that it should fairly be imputed to us as part of our Church system, or we precluded from disowning it, and exerting ourselves to procure its abolition.

First: if we ever assented to it as a Church (except by the silence which I have above accounted for), it must have been either when the old Court of Delegates was first established at the time of the Reformation, or when its powers were transferred to the Judicial Committee as now constituted. But it was not at the time last-mentioned, for the Church was never consulted at all on the subject. The Act was brought in and passed like any other Act of Parliament. Convocation, silenced for a hundred and twenty years, had no power to breathe a thought on the matter: and the Bishops, even had they been separately consulted, are by no means representatives of the general mind of the Church, as every one must allow, who knows how their appointment is overruled. Nor do we at all

know whether the majority of the Bishops of that day assented to the arrangement: we know that it took place in the very same session, in which ten sees in Ireland were suppressed by mere authority of Parliament, contrary to the earnest votes and remonstrances of the far greater part of the Hierarchy of both countries. Therefore the Church never assented to the powers of this Judicial Committee.

But it will be said, the Judicial Committee, after all, is no more than the Court of Delegates in another shape; and the Church certainly assented to the powers of the Court of Delegates. Let us see how this matter stands.

I do not deny that the Church of England did both really and formally admit the Regal Supremacy, as it was claimed by King Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth. It virtually therefore bound itself to submission to the Court of Delegates, *as then established and constituted.* It did not bind itself to such submission to the Court of Delegates itself, should that Court come to be so materially altered as not to answer that description of it on which the submission of the Church was avowedly founded: much less to any new Court, which might profess hereafter to succeed to the same functions, though differing most widely from the Reformation Court, both in its composition and in the authority by which it is constituted. Now, the Judicial Committee does in both these respects differ most widely from the original Court of Delegates. That Court could only consist of Churchmen, for then it was presumed in law that every Englishman was a Churchman: Nonconformists, so far from holding high offices, were punishable by fine and imprisonment. The composition of the Court, therefore, was essentially different from what it is now: and so was the authority by which its members were selected. The power of the Crown in appointing to high offices was at that time a reality: at present every one knows how it is circumscribed: and it does not follow, because the Church acknowledged a certain power not unfit to be intrusted to a Sovereign and Council in communion with her, that therefore she should be held to have intrusted it to a Parliament not in communion with her.

She never allowed it to any but her own people: it has fallen gradually into the hands of aliens: there is no harm, surely no disloyalty, in her quietly endeavouring to reclaim it.

But, over and above the differences in the composition and nomination of the two Courts, there is another circumstance, impossible to be omitted in any fair view of the matter. Church Synods were then in action; they are now in abeyance. To estimate the importance of this, look to the analogy of our Civil State. Suppose a question of general interest raised in either of the Courts of Westminster Hall, which requires to be more certainly settled than it can be by the decisions of Judges; Parliament is sitting, or will soon sit; a bill, declaratory or enacting as the case may be, is quickly brought in; and the contingent grievance, if any, speedily redressed. In like manner, if Convocation were sitting, the question of doctrine involved in the case now before the Judicial Committee would doubtless be mooted in one or both Houses; and any error or excess of jurisdiction would be presently noticed, and doubtful points promptly resolved. Now, all that the Church did under the Tudor sovereigns, she did under the supposition that Convocation, as well as Parliament, would go on as an actual living part of the Constitution; and our great Church writers, such as Hooker, in defending the proceedings of that time, have always gone on that hypothesis. Our assent, then, to the Reformation Court, leaves us free to object to the present Court, as for the reasons above stated, so also for this—that the watching, correcting power, supposed always to co-exist with the one, is notoriously withdrawn from the other.

Moreover (speaking under correction of those who know more of the laws of the land), I would suggest a third difference, which, if real, is most important, especially in cases like that to which our attention is now drawn. When the Clergy, as a body, submitted to King Henry VIII., it was on an understanding that he would govern us, as in temporal things by the Law of the Land, so in spiritual things by the Law of the Church. He did not claim

absolute authority in either. The very terms of their submission prove this; they "promise, on their word as priests, that they will never henceforth presume to enact new Canons, unless the King's most royal assent and license may to them be had." Does not this imply, that, *with* the King's license and assent, they *might* enact new Canons? that it was their province to do so? that it could not be done without them? If so, neither could the old Canons be repealed without them. Now, by the very same Act, all the old Canons, which were not contrary to the Laws or Prerogative Royal, were to remain in force, until the review of the whole system by two-and-thirty Commissioners, therein provided for, had taken place. Therefore, whatever was heresy by the old Canons, was to be accounted heresy still, except there were special enactment to the contrary; and might be punished as heresy in the Church Courts. When the Court of High Commission was established by 1 Eliz. c. 1, its powers regarding heresy were limited, as is well known, by the proviso, that nothing should be deemed heretical but what is declared such by canonical Scripture, by a General Council grounding itself on Scripture, or by Parliament, with the assent of Convocation. Of course, the old Canons continuing, made it imperative on the Court to pronounce *that* to *be* heresy which was declared such by the aforesaid authorities. And it would seem to follow, that, when the High Commission Court was abolished in the reign of Charles I., and with it, as lawyers affirm, this proviso, the legal measure of heresy became again what the statute of King Henry had left it, viz. the unrepealed Canons of the time before the Reformation, without the limitation of the statute of Elizabeth. And I am not aware that it has ever since been altered; only the proviso, though repealed, has always been considered to remain as a guide, for the Judges of the Ecclesiastical Courts, to the legal measure of heresy. This I notice by the way, because I have heard it remarked, in seeming disparagement of Queen Elizabeth's arrangements, that it was but a one-sided sort of respect which was shewn to the Councils by that Act; as if their

anathema were to be no proof of heresy, though their silence was to be a presumption of orthodoxy: which saying was grounded, as I presume, upon simple ignorance of the law. But what I wish now to be observed, is, that the Courts to which the Clergy of those days submitted were professedly tied to a certain standard of heresy, which could not be altered but by consent of the Clergy themselves; Parliament not having, as yet, I conceive, taken upon itself the prerogative of making Canons for the Church without Convocation. In our time, all this is altered; Parliament, a mixed multitude of all denominations, *has* taken upon itself to repeal and make Church Canons by its sole authority: as in Lord Lyndhurst's Act concerning incestuous marriages; in the Act authorising marriages in church without either banns or license; and in many other instances which might be mentioned; and there is no doubt that the present Church Courts hold themselves bound by those Acts, and would hold themselves bound by any enactment about heresy which Parliament might see fit to adopt, whether Convocation were consulted or no. That is, the present Church Courts are no longer the same Courts to which the Clergy, at the Reformation, submitted; in this very material respect, that they acknowledge a different overruling power, as in other things, so even in the law and measure of heresy. And this I take to be a strong reason, in addition to the two mentioned above, why the assent which our Church gave to Henry the Eighth's Statute, commonly called the Statute of Submission of the Clergy, ought not to be alleged as barring her right to protest against the authority of this Judicial Committee, and to take all lawful ways for ridding herself of it, as of an unconstitutional grievance.

And if the whole Church of England is not committed, by the settlement made at the Reformation, to such abuses as we now complain of, neither are we of her Clergy bound to them by any special engagement.

We are under but two special engagements which at all come near this sort of case. At Ordination we pledge ourselves,

"so to minister the Doctrine and Sacraments, and the Discipline of Christ, as the Lord hath commanded, and as this Church and Realm hath received the same, according to the commandments of God."

But this Church hath received nothing, cannot have received anything, either for or against the commandments of God, since the silencing of Convocation. The system, therefore, to which we are pledged (for I do not extend the engagement to mere details, in which we may well be ruled by our immediate superiors), is that which was agreed upon when the two co-ordinate powers, Church and State, Parliament and Convocation, had last an opportunity of free concurrent action, i.e. as I suppose, in 1661. In a word, it is the system of the present Prayer-book, Articles, and Canons; and the spirit of the engagement, as I understand it, binds us rather to oppose and deprecate, than to obey, any changes since made, or to be made, materially contrary to that system. Our duty as subjects may be to submit to them as to oppressive laws; but our engagements at Ordination have nothing at all to do with them.

With regard to this grievance in particular, I may just repeat here in three words what has been above argued at length. If it be said, "This Court is the same with the Court of Delegates, which the Church and Realm *did* receive," I ask, *How* is it the same? really, and in the eye of common sense; or technically, and according to forms of law? If you mean "substantially and really," I say it is not the same, for it is neither accompanied with the same safeguards, nor appointed by the same authority. If, on the other hand, you mean that the two Courts are the same in the eye of the law, i.e. technically and formally; then I say, that in a technical and formal sense the Church never received the present Court. Either way our promise in Ordination does not apply to it.

So again with that other engagement, the declaration of assent to the Royal Supremacy contained in the Thirty-sixth Canon of 1603. It is worded as follows:—

"That the King's Majesty under God is the only supreme Governor of this realm, and of all other his Highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal."

So far it speaks positively: the rest is negative, disowning the jurisdiction of the Pope. Now, if any man say, that this extends to the settlement of Doctrine, I would beg him to observe that by the very same subscription we bind ourselves to the Thirty-nine Articles also; whereof the Twentieth says, the Church hath "authority in Controversies of Faith:" from which it would immediately follow, that a decision in a Controversy of Faith by a Court having no authority from the Church should be to us no decision at all. Moreover, the Thirty-seventh Article, having set forth the supremacy nearly in the words of the Canon, limits it to

"that only prerogative, which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God Himself; that is, that they should rule all states and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil-doers."

It refers us also to the Injunctions set forth in the first year of Elizabeth, § 53:—

"Her Majesty neither doth, nor ever will, challenge any other authority than that was challenged and lately used by King Henry VIII. and King Edward VI., which is, and was of ancient time, due to the imperial Crown of this realm; that is, under God, to have the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these her realms, . . . of what estate, either ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be, so as no other foreign power shall or ought to have any superiority over them. And if any person . . . . shall accept the same oath with this interpretation, sense, or meaning, her Majesty is well pleased to accept every such in that behalf as her good and obedient subjects."

Now, since all oaths are to be taken in the sense of the imposer, Queen Elizabeth's sense, continued as it is and enforced on us by the Article, must be the sense in which

we sign the engagement of supremacy. And we see that she only claims "what godly princes and Christian emperors always had allowed them: to rule all sorts in all causes, and alone to use the civil sword." Not a word about determining questions of doctrine, but only about sanctioning such determinations, when properly made, by "the civil sword." Not even Henry VIII. claimed to decide questions of doctrine by his supremacy: else why did he go to Convocation and Parliament for his Act of the Six Articles?

Indeed it is most evident that the two acknowledgments of Sovereignty, in the Church and in the State, are just parallel to each other. As the one owns not any power in the Crown to make Statutes without Parliament, so neither the other, to settle Doctrines without Convocation. In both it is assumed that Kings will govern according to law.

Our consciences, then, are quite clear of any obligation by this engagement to receive the doctrinal decisions of the Privy Council as part of the doctrine of the Church. No number nor amount of them can make the Church of England formally heretical, nor bind us to withdraw from her ministrations. It is not, perhaps, often, that men taking a pledge can be quite so sure that they take it according to the meaning of him who imposes it, as we may be sure that, in thus construing the Oath of Supremacy we are just doing what our rulers, from Henry and Elizabeth downwards, have directed us to do.

What, then, is our condition? It is little to say that it is extremely anomalous and imperfect: that we are, practically, without a court of final appeal in doctrinal causes. We might bear that, as the whole Church has now for centuries borne with her sad divisions and perplexities, because, in the workings of God's inscrutable providence, her court of final appeal—a true Œcumenical Council—has been so long denied her. Such a defect does not destroy the Being of the Church Universal—she goes on in her several branches, under appeal to such authority, and ready to submit to it, when it shall please

Him to grant it: so neither does the like calamitous deficiency destroy the *Being* of the particular Church of England. But it very seriously affects her *well-being:* more especially now that it comes before us not merely as a restraint, but as a positive interference and intrusion on the part of an alien power. For,

1. If we seriously believe that our Lord and Saviour delivered the Faith once for all to the Saints,—entrusted them with it, as with a precious deposit, which they are not at liberty to make over to others,—then we must believe that it is a great and grievous sin in any Church or any Clergyman voluntarily to part with that deposit, or any portion of it, into the keeping of aliens, or of any whom He never called to such trust: a great and grievous sin in all; greater and more grievous, in proportion as a man's office comes nearer to that of the Holy Apostles, to whom and to their Successors the Treasure was at first committed. Now, we seem in our ignorance to have come very near indeed to that sin, and being wakened up, we find ourselves on the absolute edge of it. If we go on at all to accept or connive at the claim of the Privy Council to settle Controversies of Faith, what do we but render ourselves actual and wilful partakers in that sin?

2. Apart from all such solemn considerations, and regarding the Church simply as we might any other society, what a strange, unsettled condition of things, both in doctrine and discipline, have we to look forward to, if this anomaly is to continue! It was bad enough, when we thought we had an appellate Court, namely Convocation, only that for reasons prudential and charitable we abstained from pressing to have it called into action. Now it will be ten times worse: for those who believe the Church's divine commission will hardly, if ever, think it right to recognise the Privy Council Court as fit to overrule the Courts of the Church: if they are wronged elsewhere, they will be precluded from appeal; and from defence, if any appeal against them: so that it will necessarily be a partial and one-sided Court. The con-

sciousness of its being at hand will of course greatly embolden the propagators of new doctrine among us, and dispirit the defenders of the old. And the scorn is inexpressible which it will bring—nay, which it has already brought—on the English Church; as also the scandal to those who are weak, on the side both of Dissenters and of Roman Catholics.

3. All this, observe, holds equally true, whether the decision in the present case be according to the Nicene Creed or no. But if it be adverse, see what presently follows; even granting, what needs to be distinctly proved, that a Bishop or Archbishop, acting on that decision, would not involve in direct heresy both himself and all in communion with him. The Church indeed will continue as it was (for, even if the Court were as legitimate as it is irregular, a judicial decision would not overthrow what is beyond all question synodically decreed): the Church, and the position of each Clergyman in it, will continue in theory just what they were, but in practice all will be confusion. There is no need to put cases in detail: every one will understand at once the kind of difficulties which must and will arise, between Bishops and Priests, Dignitaries and inferior Clergy, Incumbents and Curates, Visitors and Teachers of Schools, Pastors and Parishioners, Academical Governors and Students; in ordination, in institution, in licensing of Curates, in catechising, in examinations, in testimonials:—there is not an ecclesiastical relation but will be greatly disturbed: from time to time real conflicts will occur, which, if carried out consistently with the decision now supposed, must end in depriving the English Church of the ministry of some, more or fewer, of those who most earnestly desire to help in her labours: some, worn out, will retire from work altogether: many, zealous, but so far unstable, will be driven to forsake and renounce her. And in this way, humanly speaking, it should seem that the natural result of such a decision, *all else continuing as it is*, would be the gradual abatement of the Catholic Spirit among us: what zeal and energy remained,

would be found among such as sympathise with Wesley more than they do with Hooker or with Ken.

4. *But all else would not continue as it is* (and here I would fain ask the especial attention of those who most fear what I should call a Catholic decision): there are other controversies arisen, or arising, among us, besides this on the doctrine of Baptism: and it can hardly be, but that before long some of these also will come in question before this same tribunal; and who will answer for the result? All English Churchmen (so called) are not so well agreed about the Inspiration of Scripture, about the awful doctrine of Everlasting Death, about the indwelling Gift of the Holy Ghost, nay, not even about the Most Holy Trinity, but that cases of supposed heresy may be expected to arise; and can any candid person deny, that the kind of violence which must be done to the letter, at least, of our formularies, by a decision against Baptismal Regeneration, is likely to encourage dangerous speculation on those and other kindred matters, the appetite for foreign theology being what it is, and our own so greatly disparaged? Consider well the tenor of all that we hear on education. Surely there is some reason to fear that a State tribunal (I do not mean the present one, but any such as the State is likely to name) may, even from mere ignorance and want of sympathy, deal as rudely with the points which all agree in calling evangelical, as ever they can with that which is now before them. Their tendency will always be to leave things open; that is, to promote confusion, and ultimately scepticism.

Whatever, then, may be our views on disputed points, if we believe that Christians, as such, are bound to any doctrine at all, it seems to me, that we ought to unite in obtaining redress for this great and pressing grievance. We will not believe, till we see it, that the Legislators and Governors of our time, however they may feel towards Catholic verity, can be so wanting in common fairness as to refuse to the English Church the right of declaring her own fundamental doctrines.

As to the mode of redress, it is clearly enough indicated, in general, by ancient practice, and by authorities not to be gainsaid. As one of the Articles above cited gives the Church generally "authority in controversies of faith," so one of the Canons (139), pronounces a censure on any one who shall deny that "the sacred Synod of this nation, in the Name of Christ and by the King's authority assembled, is the true Church of England by representation." From which it seems directly to follow, that, as the whole Church has œcumenical authority in all controversies of faith, so the English Synods have provincial authority in controversies arising here in England: which, therefore, cannot be canonically decided without authority from the Synods. Is it not, then, our plain constitutional course, to petition for some Court which shall have synodical authority, the Crown having it always in its power to license the needful deliberation as to the granting of such authority? The Synod itself, or the Upper House of it, was formerly a Court for such purposes.

"Before the time of Richard II., i.e. before any Acts of Parliament were made about heretics, it is without question, that in a convocation of the Clergy or provincial Synod, they might, and frequently did here in England, proceed to the sentencing of heretics [a]."

And the Act which first took away appeals to Rome (24 Henry VIII. c. 12), enacted a final appeal in certain causes to the Upper House of Convocation. Nor is it at all hard to conceive, how that body might conveniently enough discharge that function; as the House of Lords the corresponding one in civil matters. The number of appeals for heresy, we may hope, would not be so very large as greatly to embarrass them. The principle, however, which we plead for, is equally saved, whether the Synod itself be the Court, or some other body properly authorised by the Synod.

For this, then, or for something equivalent (if any equi-

[a] Lord Hale ap. Burn, Eccl. Law, tit. "Heresy," § 2.

valent there can be), we must labour, contrive, petition, as best we may; not, of course, depending on immediate success, but content to "bide our time," as others of our countrymen have done, who have at various times felt aggrieved, and by quiet or unquiet perseverance have obtained redress. If the sentence of the Privy Council be now, or at any time, such as to favour Heresy, let our protest be, once for all, uttered, and let all Christendom ring with it, That this Court is not, cannot be, the Church; that we will not, cannot be, bound by it. Let us be forward in offering of our goods, for the support of those whom our Master shall call out from among us, to suffer, if so be, for the liberties of the English Church. Let us humbly assure our Fathers in God, that they may depend upon such co-operation as we can give, in anything which God may put in their hearts to do for that great and blessed cause. Let us be patient, loyal, tender spirited: tender and gentle, for the case is new and startling, and many will shrink whom we would least wish to offend; patient, for the chains are deeply riveted, and it must take time to unfasten them,—more time than many of us can hope to see in this world; loyal, for is it not her Majesty's grievance,—more, almost, than any of our own,—which we are protesting against,—that she being, by hereditary title, and no doubt in will and purpose also, Defender of the Faith, should be made the instrument of judicial and educational Committees for the suppression of that Faith?

All this we must do; and there is something else, which must in nowise be left undone. For,

ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΓΕΝΟΣ ΟΥΚ ΈΚΠΟΡΕΥΕΤΑΙ, ΕΙ ΜΗ ΈΝ ΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΗ ΚΑΙ ΝΗΣΤΕΙΑ.—*St. Matt.* xvii. 21.

CHURCH MATTERS IN 1850.

II. A CALL TO SPEAK OUT.

"Is it lawful for you to scourge a man that is a Roman, and uncondemned?"—*Acts* xxii. 25.

THE thing which we greatly feared has come upon us. A Court, not of the Church, but of the State, has licensed the denial of Sacramental grace; the Archbishops and some of the Bishops have sanctioned the decision; and the English Prelacy in general, being earnestly called on to disavow it, at least by re-affirming the truth, has declined to do so. The House of Lords, with no small tokens of scorn, has refused even to take into consideration the Bishops' Bill for amendment of the anomalous Court, substantially on the very ground that it might prove a security against like disturbance of the Church's doctrine in future. And (that which, more than anything else, would seem to bring matters to a point) the Primate has signified his willingness to institute the Clerk condemned by his own Court for denial of Sacramental Grace; thereby setting his official seal both to the Court's authority and to the venial nature of the false doctrine, and committing the Church by law established to both, *so far as he can commit it by any single ministerial act of his own:* a sad thought for those who are compelled to regard the Court as a profane though unconscious usurpation of sacred functions, and the doctrine as not only false but heretical. And this last grievous judgment will fall on us, in all probability, in the course of a very few weeks.

The first and most pressing question raised by this state of things is, of course, Whether and how far the faithful Clergy and Laity are called upon to break or suspend communion with a Bishop so far implicated in heresy? Many will ignore this at once:—"What have we in Cumberland, or Ireland, or the Colonies, to do with the matter? it is too far off from us." But no one will

do so, who really lays to heart, either the true doctrine of Church Membership, or (if he be a Priest) the force of his ordination vows. "If one member suffer, all the members suffer with it;" much more such a principal member as the chief Metropolitan in our communion. And again, as Priests, we are not free to "pass by on the other side," seeing we are sworn to "banish and drive away all erroneous doctrines contrary to God's Word." It is better, on every account, to think the whole matter fairly over, and settle it, if one may, with one's own conscience, once for all.

The duty of breaking communion, when it exists, rests, in some cases, on purely moral grounds; in some, also, on grounds which may be called sacramental. The first, set forth in such passages as Rom. xvi. 17; 2 Tim. iii. 5; 2 John 10. Now this is what moralists call a "duty of imperfect obligation:" i.e. though it is always binding as a principle, the manner and degree of its action must be modified by each man's circumstances; it is like the duty of avoiding bad company in general. It is not this with which our present argument is concerned.

The other, the sacramental aspect of the case, is brought before the contemplation of Christians by our Lord's sentence on those who neglect to hear the Church, as illustrated by the case of the incestuous Corinthian; and by the injunction to Titus to reject a heretic after the first and second admonition. The Church has always understood this part of her discipline to imply, that persons knowingly communicating with those who are under her formal censures for heresy, contract the heretical taint themselves. And this it is which we naturally begin to apprehend, in our present unhappy circumstances: especially since we find in Church history that it was no unusual thing, in former days, for the orthodox of a town or diocese at once to suspend communion with a Bishop or other Teacher, when they were satisfied, on sufficient moral evidence, that he was really committed to any grave heresy.

Now it may appear at first sight, as if Mr. Gorham

were under the formal censure of the Church, seeing that the Archbishop's Court has declared him unfit to be instituted by reason of false doctrine. But first, the Court, most wrongfully as we believe, yet effectually in point of form, will have revoked its own sentence, if it issue a mandate for institution; therefore it cannot be strictly said that he is under the formal censure of the Church: and as a general rule, no person not under such censure communicates the taint of heresy to those continuing in fellowship with him. In the next place, though the doctrine virtually sentenced by the Court of Arches, and acquitted by the Judicial Committee, is undoubted heresy by ancient Church Law, and we are ready to prove it such before a lawful Synod, yet it was not in the sentence condemned *as* heresy, cutting off from the Church, but only as false doctrine, causing unfitness for institution. For these two reasons I should say, that no man can as yet contract the stain of heresy, in a formal, ritual, or sacramental sense, by communicating with those whom the present question relates to: although of the *moral* guilt and scandal, possibly incurred by such communion, any one of us, according to his opportunities of knowing better, and other responsibilities, may be partaker to an indefinite degree. But of this each person must be left to judge for himself. The rule of charity in such matters verges sometimes nearer upon severity, sometimes upon leniency. As far as formal and legal proceedings go, it was a Canon in the very severest times, "Not to punish any as a Heretic, except he be adjudged such by the Bishop or some Ecclesiastical Authority[b]."

As to voluntary suspension or indulgence of Communion, we have instances of the former in the case of the clergy and people of Constantinople, when they withdrew themselves from Nestorius on his first broaching his heresy; and in the monks of Nazianzum, rejecting the elder Gregory on his signing the confession of Ariminum: of the latter, in St. Athanasius and St. Basil, dealing with semi-Arians as with certain brethren, though they scrupled

[b] In a Council at Toulouse, A.D. 1129. Hard. vi. part 2, p. 1150, E.

owning the Son to be "of One Substance" with the Father: St. Chrysostom, too, in the time of the Meletian schism at Antioch, preached most earnestly against individuals taking on themselves to anathematize false teachers. Moreover, it is evident that in the proceedings above referred to, both at Constantinople and at Nazianzum, the denial of Communion was *personal* to Nestorius and Gregory respectively: it did not involve all who communicated with them. Not in the former case; for St. Cyril and all the orthodox Bishops at Ephesus treated those in communion with Nestorius, until he was condemned, as part of their own number. Not in the latter; for the younger and more renowned Gregory, as continuing apparently in communion with each, became after some years the instrument of reconciliation between his father and his flock. And the controversy in each of these cases touched more or less directly the very foundation of the Faith.

I conclude, therefore, that in spite of certain appearances, we need not fear being as yet *formally* committed to the heresy which causes our alarm, either as individuals or as a Church, by continuing in communion with Prelates or others who favour it; but that there is very great danger of our being *morally* committed to it.

If we at all connive at it, we sin ourselves: as far as in us lies, we cause the Church of England to sin; we draw down God's judgments upon her; and we prepare the way for her to become, in no very long time, formally heretical, i.e. to cease from being a Church altogether. There is need, then, of anxious deliberation and of prompt action: but there is no need of hurry or excitement. Let no man's heart fail, as if perchance he were already out of the Church, but let each man pray in his heart, and calmly consider what he ought to do, in order that he and his children may continue in it.

Upon such sober consideration, I think we shall all of us come more and more to perceive, that this present grievance ought no longer to be taken by itself; that the time is passed for remedying it (if even it could have

been remedied) by simple re-affirmation, however authoritative, of the portion of Christian doctrine to which it does violence: rather it must be taken as the *comble de malheur*, the drop which was to make the waters of bitterness overflow. Combining it with all its circumstances, we may and ought to regard it as a providential call to examine at large the present relations of the Church to the State in England, and see whether it be possible for us to acquiesce in them any longer without very grievous sin.

With a heavy heart I will state my reasons for thinking so.

Redress in such a wrong as we have suffered, and security against its recurrence, can only be had (humanly speaking) by one of two processes: either the governing power in the State must allow the objectionable decision to be reviewed by proper authority, and the usurpation to be abated for the future; or the governing power in the Church must at all hazards demur to the State's interference, and disregard its enactments. But what chance is there of right being done by the State, seeing that in the House of Lords, the most favourable tribunal (as we may assume it to be) for such a purpose, nearly two-thirds have declined even taking into consideration the allowed anomalies in the constitution of the Court of Appeal, *expressly because it might lead to a revision of the sentence?* What chance of relief from the other quarter alluded to, since it is understood that the Bishops of England have separated, after four meetings, with the avowed determination to make no declaration of doctrine; to ignore men's scruples, and let matters take their course? And some even of those who have spoken most strongly against the false doctrine, have acknowledged "legal respect" to be "due to the judgment recently delivered:" which can hardly mean less, than that they are not prepared to contravene it, in the only effectual way, by refusing institution.

I advert to these things, it will be observed, merely as to matters of fact—not to draw down blame upon those

to whom I refer, but simply to help myself and others in judging how far we may reasonably hope for their aid, in regard of this especial grievance. Many more particulars might be added, but these appear to me so significant, that I will go on at once to the next question: What is to be done, failing both the Parliament and the Episcopate? And this I should answer by another question: What has been the course of constitutional Reformers in this country, when their (seemingly) just demands have been doggedly refused by the Government of the time? What has been their course, and how has it answered? On some grievance of detail, some point of jurisprudence or finance, or some case which, like the present, appeared to touch "religious liberty," they found a lack of justice in the existing Courts or Parliaments; and this set them on examining the whole theory and system of those institutions, and if they had, or seemed to have, a good moral case, a fair appeal to the equity and good sense of their countrymen, and were able to point out what it was in the framework of the bodies then trusted with authority which baffled all their just pleas; they have in general, sooner or later, carried the mind of their country with them, not only for redress of the special wrong, but (if need were) for the general re-modelling of the institution which seemed committed to the wrong. I propose that English Churchmen, who feel aggrieved by the late proceedings, should adopt a course analogous to this.

The object, apparently, of those who bear sway in these matters, is either to force us into a nonjuring movement, or to make us acquiesce in what has been done, as a less evil than leaving our folds to the wolf, and separating ourselves from our erring but not heretical brethren. Our Prime Ministers and our Chief Justices, with their Acts of Parliament, are dealing with us and our parishes as a tyrant might, who should get a man's wife and children into his power, and say, "Come into my terms, or I butcher them." I dare say they mean nothing of the kind, but this is what their proceedings really come to. One may hope, however, that there is yet an alternative re-

maining. It is possible, that when the whole case of the Church, not in regard of this doctrine, nor of this tribunal, only, but in all its relations to the State and Law of England, is fairly and fully set before the people of England, we shall carry them with us, in our demand of redress; especially since one material clause of any such demand would be, that the Church's prerogatives (so called), as well as her restraints, should be considered with a view to readjustment, as the real necessities of her people may require. Fairness and reverence cannot be *quite* extinguished in our country; the plain tale we have to tell *must* win a certain degree of attention.

We shall not, of course, be simple enough to begin with anything so obsolete as Magna Charta and the Coronation Oath; how that by the one it is acknowledged as the first principle of our Law, that "the Church of England shall have all her rights and privileges without diminution or disturbance;" and by the other, all our Sovereigns successively pledge themselves "to maintain the Laws of God and the true profession of the Gospel." We know better, in our time, than to advance such topics as these, either in or out of Parliament. But what we *do* think hard and complain of is this: that the age makes an exception in our disfavour to the received principles of English Toleration. We are the one religious body in the Queen's dominions, to which the following privileges are expressly denied:—To declare our own Doctrines; to confirm, vary, and repeal our own Canons; to have a voice in the nomination of our own chief Pastors; to grant or withhold our own Sacraments, according to our own proper rule as a religious body.

Our case is, in short,—1. That we are denied these four privileges, which all other religionists have: 2. That there is no sufficient reason in the fact of our Church being "Established" (whatever the word Establishment means) to justify such denial: but, 3. That if it should appear, on further consideration, that "Establishment" is, in our case, incompatible with these liberties, we earnestly implore that measures may be speedily taken for relieving

us of such painful support: and *that* for this obvious reason; that we had rather be a Church in Earnest separate from the State, than a Counterfeit Church in professed Union with the State. This is our case, in brief. The several portions of it will require separate and detailed consideration.

To confine myself at present to that which is most immediately distressing: we say, that our being a religious body implies our settling and declaring our own Doctrines by some authority within ourselves. For how can another man settle and declare what I believe? The very notion is monstrous and self-contradictory. And if one individual cannot do this for another, how can it be done for the Church by a body which is not of the Church?

Two replies will be made to this: 1. That the present Court of Appeal does not claim to decide on doctrine; 2. That it is not alien to the Church.

Now it is all very well to say that our doctrines remain as they were; that the "Judgment" was merely the application of legal skill to the interpretation of certain documents. But some of those who are most forward in that argument seem hardly to be in earnest. For thus it is with them—thus it was (e. g.) with Lord Lansdowne in the debate on the Bishops' Bill. When he spoke of the power now assigned to the Judicial Committee, he said it was merely to decide facts, not to settle questions of doctrine. But when he spoke of the same power as proposed to be transferred to the Bishops, then it would be "letting loose all the winds of doctrine." Both statements, obviously, cannot stand.

But, not to waste time upon the subtleties of advocates, let us see what will be the issue in practice; what the effect must be upon parochial teaching. And I know not how to exhibit this so effectually as by inserting here the substance of a correspondence relating to a Parochial Petition on the subject.

The Petition was as follows, addressed to the Bishop of the Diocese:—

"Right Reverend Father in God,

"We, your dutiful children in Christ, Communicants worshipping in the Church of ———, most humbly implore your fatherly aid in a serious matter of religion and conscience.

"We have been informed, and believe, that in a certain cause relating to the Doctrine of Holy Baptism, lately tried within this realm, it has been finally decreed to be lawful for a Clergyman to teach, that not all Infants admitted to Holy Baptism receive therein remission of sins by spiritual Regeneration, but only some favoured ones, on whom an act of special grace has previously passed.

"We beg leave to represent to your Lordship, that it altogether confounds and amazes us to hear that there is any doubt in the matter; we having been always taught and accustomed to receive the solemn words of the Prayer-book in their plain and natural sense.

"And as, being so instructed by the Church, we have come away from the Burial Service in more or less Hope, that our departed brethren rest in peace; so, in obedience to the same instruction, we have returned from the Baptismal Service in undoubting and earnest Faith, that our little ones are in a state of salvation by the grace given them in that Holy Sacrament.

"We have not doubted, but earnestly believed, that, inasmuch as they have now received the one Baptism for the remission of sins, the sin in which they were born is for Christ's sake remitted unto them; so that, being now made members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of Heaven, they are free to believe and do, by God's grace, all that is needful for their continuance in that state of salvation.

"All this we have been used to believe, and do believe; and, God enabling us, we will live and die in that faith, and will do what we can to secure the same to our children. In which purpose, as we hope for your Lordship's approval and blessing, so we earnestly implore you to aid us, by such means as the Chief Shepherd shall put into your heart, for removing any doubt which may have arisen on this point, namely,—

"*Whether or no the Church holds it needful to be believed, that, by the Blood and Merits of our Saviour Christ, Original Sin is remitted to all Infants in Holy Baptism?*

"We humbly ask your Lordship's blessing, and also your for-

giveness, if we have erred in this our Petition, or in anything contained therein: being always,

"Right Reverend Father in God,
"Your Lordship's very dutiful children and
"servants in Christ,
_____"

It was accompanied by a letter, of which the following are extracts:—

"I should not be doing justice to my flock, were I not to add that I am convinced, by actual inquiry and conversation, that they have not been putting their names down for form's sake, nor to please their betters, but with intelligence and hearty good-will. My Lord, may I venture, in their name and in my own (that I add not Another, the most sacred of all names), very seriously to implore your Lordship to take their case into consideration, and in some way to give them, for themselves and their children, that security which they so earnestly desire, and which none but their Bishop can give them, against being hereafter taught by authority that the foundation of their Faith and Hope, their ingrafting into Christ by His Holy Baptism, is an uncertainty, and their sins, peradventure, only as the sins of the heathen, requiring no such very deep or special repentance. . . . . You may judge how anxiously we wait, both they and I, for something to reassure our minds, and to satisfy us that, whatever the State may decree, the Bishops of the Church of England will not suffer our Faith in so great a doctrine to be disturbed. I can truly avouch to your Lordship, that the plain, simple, devout spirits, those who have been most tried by suffering, and who seem most to long after goodness—those of my flock who have never heard before of controversy,—are not the least deeply impressed with the importance of this matter. How, then, can it be thought to be a matter of subtle disputation, or of mere temporary excitement? Nay, my Lord, it is a matter of life and death. . . . . The amount of distress and perplexity, I fear of unbelief also, is daily increasing: our adversaries on both sides rejoice, and all the while (as I verily believe) . . . . we are nearly all of one mind as against the extreme doctrine which has been advanced and sanctioned. If all who repudiate that error would but join us in saying so, and in strengthening the hands of your Lordship and the rest of

our Fathers, the Church's doctrine would soon be vindicated, so far as it may have been impugned, and we should be relieved from the open scorn and shame, before all Christendom, of having to obey such a Court as now overrules our Church Courts, even in questions of the Faith; for surely no Government could resist the united application of both the great sections of the Church. Thus Truth and Peace might both, through God's mercy, be cared for. But I see no other way [c].

"What I anticipate, if this may not be, I will not trouble your Lordship with detailing. You know as well as I do the ways in which earnest minds are likely to be affected, when the Faith appears to them to be touched, and those to whom they look for its assertion take no notice . . . . I do not love anticipating difficulties. I am sure (please God) the Church of England will never deny the Faith; nor can it ever become a man's duty to leave that Church. But, my Lord, in saying this I mean the Old Church of England, such as I was baptized and bred in,—not such as the established body will become, if it really, by speech or by silence, accept the doctrine set forth in this judgment. In such case the Church of England will be to me the protesting minority, not the society recognised, if any be still recognised, by the State. I do not say that such a sad consummation could take place in a short time, though a short time might make it, humanly speaking, inevitable. But our dutiful feelings of every kind would make us slow to acknowledge it. . . . . But what I meant to convey to your Lordship is the undoubting conviction of myself and many others, that if this sad disturbance of doctrine continue, sooner or later we shall be visited either with a very distressing separation from the Establishment (besides very many fallings away on both sides) or with an effort, hardly to be resisted, for an entirely new arrangement of the Church's relations with the State. There are many grievances besides this, which I need not detail to your Lordship, the least of which might well warrant a certain degree of boldness in seeking a remedy; and I cannot believe that our countrymen will

[c] Among the many sorrows and disappointments of the time, not the least is the way in which those who are called moderate Low Churchmen have hitherto seemed to receive every proposal of this kind: I mean the proposal that we should unite in a sort of *Formula Concordiæ*, affirming Regeneration in Baptism, but guarding against disparagement of the further grace of Conversion where needed.

refuse their sympathy when the case is fairly brought before them. But it will be a fearful step, and I will hope that it may never become our duty to try it."

The Petition and Letter were shewn to a person, who, looking at them with all kindness, was yet unable to sympathise with the alarm of the Petitioners; alleging, what has been so often stated, that the Doctrine of the Church does in fact remain unaffected by the decision.

To his remarks it was replied, in substance, as follows:—

"I observe, that neither in your letter, nor in any other of the statements similar to it which I have met with in various quarters, of more or less authority, is it affirmed that we have mistaken the real state of the case at present. At this moment, as I suppose, it is fully open to myself, for instance, to alter, if I saw fit, the whole course of my teaching on Holy Baptism, and tell the people that it is quite uncertain whether or no their infants have any spiritual benefit thereby, and whether their own sins are not as the sins of the heathen, committed against no special grace. The same course is equally free to any curate or schoolmaster teaching in our parish. We could none of us be checked in so doing by any ecclesiastical authority. Am I wrong in imagining this to be the real state of the case at present? I shall be too happy to be told that I am.

"But if I am not wrong, this is our people's grievance. It would be a great inconvenience, a sore grievance, to be open to two contradictory ways of teaching on *any* serious practical point of religion. But when the point so left open is of the very substance of the Faith, the grievance, to those who hold the Faith, is, in the strict sense of the word, *intolerable*. We cannot and we must not be easy, until by God's mercy we have obtained deliverance from it.

"If it be as you state, that the Judicial Committee have left the doctrine of the Church what they found it, and if that doctrine concerning Baptism be at present liable to such contradictory expositions as I have above indicated, all we can say is, that we have hitherto lived and been at peace in a mistaken view of that doctrine; but that now it has been explained to us, we can no longer be at peace. Hitherto we thought ourselves protected by the law of our English Church against denial of Sacra-

mental Grace, as against denial of the Trinity, or Incarnation, or any other vital doctrine of the Gospel. If this judgment stands, we are not so protected. Whether we were right or wrong before, the loss to our feelings is just the same. We cannot be as we were until this great article is (as I should say) re-affirmed, or (as you would say) affirmed, by competent authority. Such is, of course, the feeling of all those who hold the doctrine, and hold it as fundamental; as every one must, I conceive, who in reality holds it at all.

"But even more earnestly than for them, would I wish to plead for the thousands and tens of thousands who know nothing of it, or know it only to scorn it—who are going on lightly in grievous sin, because, not being aware of the high and supernatural state to which they have been called, they have not a conception how grievous their sins are. Sadly do I feel that the doctrine which has now been sanctioned is the very doctrine by which, according to all my parochial and other experience, the Evil One has his own way with our lost sheep. As he said to Eve by the tree of knowledge, 'Ye shall not surely die,' so he says to us beside the tree of life, 'Ye have not surely lived again;' and the practical conclusion is the same: 'You need not be so much afraid of this or that dangerous liberty.'

"This is the reason, and not simply for our love of antiquity, nor in order to complete a theological system, why we cling so earnestly to the literal meaning of what we have been taught concerning Holy Baptism, and why it so breaks our hearts to see the contrary allowed and prevailing. Our own consciences inform us but too clearly, how ruinous it is for a careless Christian to be told, that, in respect of profaning special grace, his sins are but as the sins of the heathen; which thing, when it came into the mind of the Jews, they were told that it could not be at all [d]; and if not with them, much less, surely, with us.

"If then one could persuade one's self that the late decision (supposing it a decision of the Church) had not altered our Anglican doctrine, it would be no comfort, but only the additional sorrow, that our Church had for so many years given up a fundamental truth, most necessary as a safeguard of souls. But I hope and trust that the assumption is erroneous. I cannot think that such entire denial of all real Sacramental Grace, as I find in the writings of Mr. Gorham and Mr. Goode, was ever

[d] Ezekiel xx. 31.

tolerated by our Church as a Church. I think there is a clear and broad distinction to be drawn between their teaching and that of the school which has been usually called Calvinistic—that of Whitgift, for example, and of Ussher; and the distinction is this: that our Calvinists, whether logically or no, acknowledged Baptism to be the ordinary channel of Regeneration; whereas the school of Zuinglius, to which belong the two living writers whom I have named, will not allow it to be the channel of any grace, but merely the 'formal making over,'—the outward sign and evidence, that when the condition is accomplished, then such and such a mercy will be given: just as the sign of the cross on the forehead, or the sight of a cross on a church-gable, is an edifying and comfortable sign to those who believe what it reminds them of. This is what we apprehend, and would guard against the teaching people to believe,—that they are unregenerate, in the sense of their not being so united to Christ, as to be transferred into a state really supernatural, in which, as their blessings and privileges are immeasurably greater, so their sins are immeasurably worse, than in their natural condition. The old Calvinists, as a school within the Church, never, that I know of, denied this. Their feeling was with the Reformer Bradford, that 'we ought to believe of ourselves that we are regenerate by our Baptism, the Sacrament thereof requiring no less faith[e].' The difficulty about Perseverance might cause them at times to use sayings seemingly inconsistent with this, as sometimes did also the Schoolmen, perhaps even St. Augustine himself. But *as a school*, I have no doubt that they held, or meant to hold, Baptismal Regeneration, even as St. Augustine did. But this modern school denies it on a totally different ground—a ground common to them with Socinians: That inward grace can in no real sense be conferred by outward signs, nor made dependent on man's ministerial acts. Now, the denial of the remission of sin to a baptized infant is an extreme, and, I believe, an almost unprecedented, assertion of this modern doctrine. Therefore it may be condemned without inclusively condemning the Elizabethan school of Calvinistical divines: and also, confessedly, without touching the great majority of those who may be supposed to represent that school at present. They whom such condemnation would really touch are, for the most

[e] As quoted in the "Christian Remembrancer," No. 67, p. 44.

part, of a different cast, such as Hoadly and others of the eighteenth century.

"All this, I suppose, would be part of our case, were we allowed to bring this matter to a really theological issue; besides all the proofs from Scripture and antiquity, which the Judicial Committee felt obliged simply to ignore: (although, by deciding as they did on the meaning of the Elizabethan divines, they in effect settled a much more intricate question than the wider view would have brought before them.)

"Now as the simple ones in our flock cannot rest while their portion in Christ is made doubtful, so neither can those rest who have sworn to drive away erroneous and strange doctrines, while the whole Article of Sacramental Grace is, in their apprehension, surrendered without a single reference to Scripture, as interpreted by the whole Church, and the Church of England in imminent danger of *material* (I do not yet say *formal* and *deliberate*) heresy.

"These our convictions are too deep and too sacred to be given up in deference even to such authority as now calls on us to part with them. We, in effect, are constrained to appeal from our immediate superiors to a free and lawful synod; and until we can obtain such a synod, we must consider ourselves as going on under appeal, and in every dutiful and charitable way must bring it before those who can help us.

"I need not say to you how painful and mournful I feel this state of things to be. I feel that one is placed, for an indefinite while to come—very likely for the remainder of one's short life—in a state of great danger and temptation—in danger of real or seeming undutifulness and strife. May I ask your forgiveness and kind interpretation beforehand, that if I should seem to go beyond what is right, you would believe that I do it in ignorance?"

These extracts appear to me to bring out, in a manner which cannot easily be explained away, the true doctrinal force of the late decision, as amounting at least to this: that whereas hitherto the deniers of Sacramental Grace, few or many, moderate or violent, have been generally understood to go on in our Church *by sufferance*, henceforth they will go on under the known warrant and sanction of the Law, as if you had inadvertently allowed

some mischievous neighbour to pass to and fro through your garden, and found, to your disgust, that he had established a right of way. It would be small comfort, in such a case, to tell you that the Law remained as it was.

Or we may suppose an analogous case: that persons taking liberties on the other side had been not only holding but teaching Communion in one kind only, and that by some accident the Judicial Committee had decided this to be lawful; could any one maintain that, if admitted, it left our system of doctrine on the Sacraments unaffected?

It is too plain. A judicial sentence contrary to a prevailing construction, though its force be short of legislation, cannot be denied to be a practical change in the Law; and if the Law involved an Article of Faith, the change, to the believer, must be an intolerable grievance: a religious grievance in any case, but a political grievance also, if, as in the present instance, the decision be made by an authority alien to the religious body whose faith is in question.

That the deciding Court is in effect alien to the Church, cannot fairly be doubted by those who will consider, not merely the possible accident of its consisting of Dissenters and enemies to the Church, but also the fact that it is by no means a creature of the Royal Supremacy, but rather of Parliament restraining that Supremacy; and of what sort of Parliament? We may take its character from a writer who clearly knows a great deal about it, and wishes to make the best of it:—

"Every year, almost every day that passes, more distinctly developes and embodies a sentiment that does and will resolutely, and on each occasion that may offer, refuse to the members of the Church and her ministers, except upon the condition of disobedience to her laws, the commonest and most vital privileges of religious freedom, under the plea of her civil establishment[f]."

Now it is no use talking unrealities, especially when

[f] "Quarterly Review," No. CLXXI. p. 63.

they deceive nobody: we all know that in these days the Supremacy of the Crown, together with its other great functions, is virtually put into commission, to be exercised by those whom the permanent majority of the House of Commons shall think fit to trust with it; and the sentence just quoted will enable us to judge, whether a Court appointed under such control, without the slightest check from any ecclesiastical authority, deserves to be called an Alien Court or no.

And here—I will just mark it by the way—is the broad distinction between what is now doing among us, and what in former times, good or bad, Roman Emperors or English Kings and Parliaments, or other Civil Powers, have been allowed to do, in the way of taking liberties with Church Courts. The Sovereign in those cases always professed to be Christian. The Parliaments were in theory (as has been said) a sort of "Lay Synods of the Church." The way to make the cases parallel would be, for Her Majesty, in the exercise of Her Supremacy, to decline that Parliamentary control which, under our present Constitution, she acknowledges in all public matters, and to be advised, *bonâ fide*, by Churchmen and Spiritual Men. I do not see the impossibility of such a thing; on the contrary, it seems to me to combine itself in theory well enough with other arrangements which appear desirable: but at any rate, until this take place, we shall not be as our forefathers were, neither can we be fairly pressed to submit ourselves on the ground of its being no more than what they allowed, nor taunted by Roman Catholics, or others, as if we had been pledged 300 years since to all we now deprecate.

Whether Justinian, Charlemagne, or Charles I. did or did not appoint Judges of Doctrine—whether, if they did, it was right or wrong to allow them—it was not the same thing as allowing a modern Prime Minister to do so.

Nor are there wanting clear signs of the special danger incurred in our case, by every year and every month of our continuing subject to such interference. The Prime Minister (I speak not of him personally) is, of course, the

representative of the popular will, and what the popular will is in matters of doctrine we may judge by this—that the most popular of our newspapers, commending the decision in the Gorham Case, adopted for its own the famous Letter of Constantine, deprecating proceedings against Arius; in which letter he calls the Controversy on the Divinity of our Lord,

"a certain *empty question*, which ought neither to have been asked nor answered: a dispute about *matters trifling to an excess of insignificance:*" and tells the Bishops, "You may keep up communion with each other, however decidedly your opinions vary *in some minute points of detail.*"

And again, a noble person, whom it is impossible to name without respect, is reported to have said in the debate on the Bishops' Bill, that

"if a heresy were such as could not be made patent to four or five impartial judges accustomed to judicial investigations,—*if it required a practised, professed, theological eye to discover it*, it had better be left alone."

Once more: on the same occasion, a Prelate, to whom we are all bound to look up, thought it necessary to disclaim all concurrence in the doctrine,—

"that there resided in the body of Bishops, in their official character, any peculiar and exclusive prerogative, or even any pre-eminent or transcendant qualification, which rendered them the only proper judges upon questions of doctrine arising in the Church [g]."

It is but too plain how the old dogmatic theology, the Creeds of the Church, by which we are sworn to live or die, would fare with a generation, of which these are favourable specimens.

The whole argument concerning our first grievance may be summed up in two short questions. To all, calling themselves Churchmen, we may say, Is there not a treasure of Sacred Truth, and a living Body entrusted with that treasure? and can it be right for any consideration

[g] Debate of June 5.

to make over the trust to those who are not of the Body? Again, to all candid persons of every Creed we may say, Is it not a part of Religious Liberty for a Religious Body to declare its own doctrine; or, if its civil and social position equitably interfere with its freedom in this respect, to be allowed at least a choice, which of the two it will forego?

With these suggestions I take leave of the subject for the present, hoping before long to deal with another portion of it, and earnestly desiring always so to speak of it, as to leave the least possible excuse for impatient hearing.

July 20, 1850.

A PASTORAL LETTER

TO THE PARISHIONERS OF HURSLEY[a].

"I will gather them that are sorrowful for the solemn assembly, who are of thee, to whom the reproach of it was a burden."—*Zephaniah* iii. 17.

CHRISTIAN BRETHREN,—I make no question but many of you, my friends, neighbours, and children in the Lord, have had your thoughts,—perhaps you have wondered, why such frequent mention has of late been made here of the distress of the Church. Ever since Easter in last year you know that whenever the Litany has been said, and whenever the Holy Communion has been administered, we have been accustomed to ask your prayers in special "for the whole Church of England in her present distress." And some never having been told, some forgetting, some not rightly understanding, may have wondered what this "present distress" should mean; for outwardly all appears to go on as usual: the clergy go about their work, and receive their portions, in peace, and no one, here at least, interferes with our solemn assemblies. Yet we have gone on using this word "distress," and signifying also, that it was a kind of distress touching the Bishops and Clergy in particular. We have said, indeed, enough to shew that we did not mean outward and temporal distress, but rather such as is inward and spiritual. This we have signified by adding the words, "all who are in trouble and perplexity of mind." And a good deal was said when we first began this custom to explain what it was that pressed on us. Nevertheless, I have often wished to say something more to you on the matter; but it is a hard and painful matter to speak of, and not in all respects fit for the House of God, which

[a] Occasioned by the proposed Synodical Meeting in the Diocese of Exeter (1851).

is the reason why I now write, instead of preaching on it. But now a time is come which almost compels us to speak, for we want your prayers more than ever; and we must tell you why, that you may know what to pray for, and what deep reason there is for your praying with all earnestness.

You may perhaps, many of you, remember, my brethren, how that more than a twelvemonth ago we were in trouble about the doctrine of Holy Baptism; the cause of our trouble being this,—that certain judges appointed by the Government to decide such matters had settled that the Church, in the Prayer-book, does not certainly teach Baptismal Regeneration. So we were left in doubt whether little children regularly baptized were really made members of Christ or no: the clergy need not teach it, and we need not believe it. And those who wanted to be easy in their sins were put into a way of thinking, as if those sins might not, after all, be so very bad, because, although they had been christened, maybe they had not received grace, and then their sins would be, in comparison, excusable, as the sins of the heathen. Surely this was a great trouble, a great advantage gained by the Evil One against us. And what if we were for the present left free to teach, and you to receive, the truth? Ought we not to be troubled to think of the many who are encouraged to teach and receive such evil doctrine? Ought we not to be sorry and ashamed, and afraid for the Church of England, lest she also some time, in spite of her Prayer-book, should give her consent to this heresy, and throw away her faith?

Here, then, is one great and so far continued distress in our holy Church; concerning which, I trust, we do not amiss in inviting you to remember it as often as we say the Litany, and in making our Litanies more frequent than usual, according to the custom of all Churches in times of trouble.

This, I say, was and is one great and continued distress—the encouragement given to the denial of Sacramental Grace. Another is, that in trying such a cause

as this, a holy matter regarding Christ's holy doctrine, no legal account is made of the Bishops and Clergy, to whom our Lord said, "He that heareth you, heareth Me," but it is left entirely to men learned in the law of the land. I need not say to you, for it is quite plain of itself, that a man may be very learned in the law of the land, and yet know little or nothing of Christ's and His Church's law in the Bible and Prayer-book. Which of you that is a father, and makes a conscience of managing his children, knowing that he is answerable for them to God Almighty, would not think it very hard, as well as very foolish, if persons were sent round by the Government to force him to manage them in a particular way, care being taken that none of those persons should have children of their own, or be much used to children? I ask again, Would not this be very hard, as well as very foolish? Yet this is not at all worse than appointing lawyers instead of clergymen to settle what shall be taught in the Church. And what is unspeakably worse, think of the profaneness, brethren, think of the sin; to say to the Clergy, "We will not hear you, though you are in the Apostles' place, sent by Christ as He by His Father, but we will only hear those whom the Government for the time has appointed." Surely this, if anything, is saying to Christ, "We will have no king but Cæsar:" surely it is the very gainsaying of Korah, and can only come to the worst of all ends.

This, then, is a second great distress; that by the way in which things are managed all Apostolic authority is denied in the Church, and very unbelievers may settle what we are to believe. Surely it cannot be wrong to pray to be delivered from this, when we say the Litany, or make offerings in Holy Communion.

I will mention a third distress, and a very sad one, which we were made to feel particularly some four years ago, and which these late troubles have brought back strongly to our minds. I do not know that I ever spoke of it in a sermon, but all of you, I think, will perceive at once, if you will attend, that it is a great distress and

wrong. What, then, is it? It is the way in which our Bishops are appointed. The old way of the Church was, that the Communicants should elect the Bishop, care being taken by godly discipline that no notorious sinner should be a communicant. By-and-by, when the Kings of the earth became Christians, and were willing to do great things for the Gospel, it was judged fair that they, standing in the place of the whole body of Communicants, should nominate the Bishops in their dominions, as our Government does now. But observe: whether it were the body of the Communicants or the Sovereign that named the Bishop, he could not be consecrated to be a Bishop by any one but those who were Bishops before him. Their hands must be laid upon him: hands which the Apostle said were not to be laid suddenly—that is, hastily and at random—on any man: the Bishops, therefore, and especially the Archbishop, were always able to keep out of the holiest office any one whom they judged unworthy. But how is it now in our country? As the law is at present understood and acted on, whomever the Government may name to be a Bishop, though he be the worst of men, a known unbeliever, or any thing too bad to be named, that man the Archbishop must consecrate, or he loses all his goods, and is imprisoned for life. Nobody is allowed to say a word of objection; they will not even allow the matter to be enquired into. On this, I will only just make one remark: that it cannot be wrong to call such a law a great and continued distress in the Church of England, and to pray most earnestly that her Communicants may be restored to some of their ancient freedom in the election of her chief shepherds, and the Bishops no longer forced, as far as law can force them, to consecrate without enquiry, at the mere will of the Government. This *must* be a good prayer, for it is simply praying to be delivered from a great public sin.

Yes, indeed, my brethren, if we believe the truths of the Gospel—if we believe that men have souls and if we care for those souls, we cannot but feel these three to be great distresses: first, that persons teaching in our

Church should be held free to deny Sacramental Grace; secondly, that not the successors of the Apostles, but lawyers appointed by the Government, should decide on matters of faith; thirdly, that the same Government should absolutely appoint whom they please to be a Bishop, without so much as hearing an objection from either clergy or people. What is sinful, what is profane, what is ruinous to souls, if these things be not so? Well may it be a trouble to us! well may we cry unto the Lord, as Samuel did for Saul, even all the night, however quiet and undisturbed our own way of life may be! Samuel was not interfered with in body or estate; he was free to serve God himself, yet he was sore distressed for Saul; and we, if we have any Christian love in our hearts, must not we feel distressed for the many, many souls which are the worse for such a state of things, some of them, perhaps, persons in whom we have some special interest? Oh, indeed, it is a real trouble to think of them! it is a real relief to pray for them.

Consider only the sort of case which I am going to mention. I must mention it, though I am very unwilling; it brings so many sad thoughts in many ways. Most of us must be aware that a certain number of persons, seeing and keenly feeling such evils as I have now mentioned, have become impatient—have said to themselves, "How can this be a part of the true Church which permits such things to be done?" (as if a Church could not sin without ceasing to be a Church;) and so they have put aside all their doubts, and have betaken themselves to the Church of Rome, with all its errors, denying (which is saddest of all) the Grace which had fed them all their lives long unto that day. Some of the most earnest and self-denying have taken this course. Is not this a thought to set us on praying? How can we pray too much for them, that they may have grace and strength to break their bonds? How can we pray too earnestly for the souls which they might have helped to save, but which they are now tempting to unbelief? I hope we have prayed, and do pray heartily, for those who have so sadly

and so wrongly left us, as often as we beseech our Lord to bring into the way of truth all such as have erred and are deceived.

And there is another misery yet—another great danger. As the sins, not so much of the Church as of the nation, have caused some to forsake the Church, so their forsaking the Church has brought a great trouble upon many of those who remain. For the Pope, or Bishop of Rome, encouraged, it seems, by the liberties which all sorts of people were taking with this our Church of England, has thought it a good time to send among us a number of new Bishops, on a new plan, and to call upon us English Catholics to submit ourselves to the same. And what has been the consequence? Why, as many of you must know, besides a great deal of confusion in other respects, advantage has been taken of what the Roman Catholics are doing to put down those of our teachers, clergy or other, who most try to be strict and exact according to the rules of the ancient Church. There are always a good many who cannot bear any strict and exact rules; who had rather, if they could, be as the heathen, that they might be less answerable for the worldly lives they lead, and the sinful liberties they take; and these persons, seeing many good men provoked at what the Roman Church is doing, have turned the blame upon certain among ourselves (I mean, upon those who desire most scrupulously to obey our own Church, in looking always towards primitive antiquity), and have told everybody that "it was *their* fault—*they* had been encouraging the Roman errors, and tempting people that way." And so there has been, and now is, such an outcry, that the earnest persons of whom I speak, whose only desire is to spend and be spent for the Church of England—who would rather die than depart from that Church, and some of whom, to my knowledge, have nearly sacrificed their lives in trying to prevent others from doing so—some of these are even now in danger of being put to silence, if not of being hindered from communicating in our churches; while those who scorn the Creeds, the Ministry, and the Sacraments, seem for the present to have their own way.

Now, is not *this* too a trouble—another reason for extraordinary prayers, for early Litanies, for frequent Communion? Surely it is so; and it is also a reason (as are all the other distresses which I have mentioned) why we should all try to be more than usually attentive and devout in what may be called our State Prayers. By State Prayers, I mean our prayers for the Queen, the Royal Family, the High Court of Parliament, and the like: as also for the Lords of the Council and all the Nobility, and for the Magistrates and all who are in authority. In these prayers many of us are, I fear, too apt to be negligent, as if they were just matters of course, needing no special lifting up of our hearts; and who can tell how much our negligence may have to do with the present unhappy state of things? Perhaps, if we had all prayed in earnest, He who heareth prayer would either have turned the hearts of such as have power in the State (as of old He caused those who led His people captive to pity them); or He would have given the power into the hands of others who know better the true meaning of "the kingdom of heaven;" or He might have caused their doings to turn out otherwise than they meant: and this the rather, as we have much reason to believe that the laws which have worked so badly were not, in the first place, meant as against the Church; it was not seen what their effect on the Church would be. And even as, for our sins and negligence, laws which were not so intended have proved very hurtful to us, so we may hope, that on our true repentance and prayer, that which is ignorantly done against the Church may be over-ruled for her freedom and improvement. Anyhow we have great encouragement, and surely we have great need, to pray.

This very day on which I am writing to you, I find in the Second Morning Lesson a portion of our Lord's history, which, if I mistake not, we may, without presumption, apply to the present condition of the Church among us. There is, first, the evil mind of the Scribes and Pharisees towards our Saviour, and then there is the account how He met it on His part. Their evil mind

was this, that "they were filled with madness, and communed one with another what they might do to Jesus." They held their meetings, and took counsel against Him: the world knew nothing of it, but He knew; and what did He do on His part? what measures did He take to baffle their evil designs? Two things He did, both very remarkable, considering who He is—the very Power and Wisdom of the Most High. He is Almighty, yet here behold Him praying,—spending the whole night in prayer to God the Father, as any one of us, His poor creatures, might do in our distress. He is All-wise, the Eternal Wisdom; yet here behold Him choosing certain persons upon earth—frail, weak creatures, sinners like all other—to speak for Him and do His work. Those are His two ways of contending against the malice and evil designs of such as were gathered together against Him.

Now, if it be presumptuous to say what I am going to say, may He mercifully forgive the error, and guard it from harming His people: but I cannot help thinking that there is a sort of resemblance between this passage of our Lord's history and the course of our present distress, as I have now described it. For now, too, a good many of our countrymen are "filled with madness"—I cannot call it less; it is a most violent, inconsiderate prejudice, altogether unreasoning and unreasonable, against those English Churchmen who profess to hold by the ancient Church. People are "filled with madness," and now for many months have been "communing among themselves what they may do" to the believers in sacramental religion. Why, what has made them now so much fiercer than they used to be? Much the same kind of reason as that which made the Pharisees mad against our Lord. He had just been performing a mighty work—the withered hand had received power at His word: *that* was the provocation. If He had tried the miracle and failed, they would have cared little for it: and little would this generation have cared for the preaching of the true English Church, the true Catholic sacramental religion, if it had seemed to work as little effect as preaching too

commonly does. But when the Evil One saw many hearts moved, an untold quantity of good being done, the poor, forsaken corners of crowded towns, such as Plymouth, Leeds, Westminster, cared for and looked after, of course he would put forth all his power, and malice, and craft: false tales must be spread, mobs raised, clergymen forced away from their all in this world, and from their flocks, which they love more than all. All this has been going on for some time; and now there are blind rumours of persons being to be hindered from preaching, and the Prayer-book, sooner or later, to be altered;—blind, I say, and uncertain rumours, yet they shew which way people's minds are leaning.

But some of you may say in your hearts, "Why so greatly alarm us? *to us*, surely, the evil is at a distance: nothing is being done *here* as yet: yet for awhile, happily, we may abide unconcerned." Nay, but is not this too like that evil and selfish spirit which wrought so miserably on Cain, and caused him to say, "Am I my brother's keeper?" We cannot, we must not, so wrap ourselves up in ourselves; we are members of the same body, we must pray that we may have the same care one of another. Others have felt, and do feel, the evils which I have been mentioning; must we not care for *them*, and pray for them as for ourselves?

And, besides, what wise man would wait till the evil actually comes upon him, and not rather do what he can, be it much or little, as soon as he can? In the place of Scripture to which I have been referring you, nothing was yet done to our Lord. The Pharisees, as yet, were only communing one with another; as for the people, they rather seemed inclined to favour Him: did He then let things take their course? No, He prayed all night; and so, before all things, let us pray. Pray night and day in His name, for the holy Church Universal, for our Queen, for Bishops and Curates, for those who seek increase of grace, for the weak-hearted, for the desolate and oppressed, for those who have erred and are deceived, and for our enemies, persecutors, and slanderers. At all

times, of course, it is good to pray for them; but this surely is a special time for such prayers.

But our Lord met the blind enmity of the Pharisees with something besides prayer. Having prayed all night in the mountain, "As soon as it was day, He called His disciples, and of them He chose twelve, whom also He named Apostles;" and with them, going down from the hill, He began, as it seems, to heal and teach more publicly than ever. What can we do at all answering to this? Why, as His nightly prayer shews, how we must pray continually, so these His doings in the daytime shew, that we in our day must do what little we can to strengthen the hands of those who are His Apostles among us—that is, the Bishops and Pastors of His flock, in all that they do for the sound faith and godly discipline of the Church. Bishops sound in faith, and lawfully appointed, are His present Apostles. Where such an one is, there, according to a very holy Martyr, is the Catholic Church, and Jesus Christ Himself; and if you see such an one calling his clergy together, and publicly taking counsel with them, first to affirm the faith and the grace which He has given to His Church, and then to provide for the spiritual sicknesses and infirmities of His flock, I say that this is an image, faint and unworthy of course, yet still a true image, of our Lord coming down on that occasion with His Apostles, to speak to the people in the plain, and heal those that had need of healing. This was His way of meeting the malice of the Pharisees, and the other can be no bad way for His Church to meet the erroneous dislike of this present generation. Especially since we know that such solemn assemblies have always been the way of the Church in time of trouble, so claiming the promise of our Lord, spoken in the first place to His ordained ministers, "Where two or three of you are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them."

These solemn assemblies are called Synods, or Councils. A particular Bishop, with his Clergy so assembled, is a Diocesan Synod; an Archbishop, with the Bishops

under him, is a Provincial Synod ; all the Bishops of the realm are a National Synod ; the Bishops of the universal Church are a General Synod ; and when the decrees of such a synod have been accepted, as agreeing with Holy Scripture, by the churches throughout the world, then it becomes what is termed an Œcumenical or Universal Synod, and must be obeyed as having full claim to the promise of our Lord, "He shall guide you into all truth."

This is the true and ancient constitution of the visible Church of Christ. And whereas a good deal is being said about the claim of those Churchmen who are not Clergy to have a voice in these matters, I must remind you that this was fully provided for of old, by the circumstance that the Bishops were elected by the whole body of the Communicants. They did as truly represent the Church, as the House of Commons represents the State ; and besides, in all national and general synods, Christian princes were present in person, or by their commissioners, and had very great influence. Among ourselves, how can it be true to say that the people have no power in Church councils, since no provincial council can be holden, or pass canons, without consent of the Crown ; and since the Bishops, who form those councils, are absolutely named by the Crown, at the recommendation of the prime minister, who is virtually named himself by the House of Commons, i.e. by the people ? The irregularity is, that the whole people, and not the Communicants only, are allowed to interfere. It is the same injustice, as if you or I claimed to have a voice in choosing ministers, or making rules, for a congregation of Dissenters.

However, our Bishops, however appointed, are Bishops ; there is no doubt of that ; and the Priests ordained by them are Priests ; and, therefore, the Bishop of any one of our churches, with his Clergy, in solemn assembly, may hope for Christ's special blessing ; and if the purpose of such assembly be one in which other churches are alike interested, then the members of other churches ought to help that assembly with their prayers and best wishes, and to speak a good word for it on occasion, if they can

do no more. Such an assembly, such a synod, has now been called by the Bishop of the Church of Exeter, to meet on Wednesday in this week. You know that I have asked your prayers especially for it. The main purpose of it is especially to uphold the true doctrine of the Sacraments, which, as I have long since explained to you, is in danger among us. Now, why such assemblies are not held in other dioceses besides Exeter, is a matter not for us but for our rulers to judge of. But where it is done, as now in Exeter, and last year in Scotland and Australasia, surely all good Christians, however far away, do well to accompany it with their hopes and prayers, that all may be ordered for the best.

These, my brethren, are the reasons, why I have so earnestly in church requested your prayers for our brethren in the Church or diocese of Exeter, for the Bishop and Clergy in their Diocesan Synod, and for the Laity or Christian People in their way of receiving the same. For indeed, besides the rule of Christian fellowship, we are greatly concerned in that meeting, every one of us. Because, first and chiefest of all, it will be a great and good thing for us and for our children, to have such a solemn declaration from one which is not the least of the churches of God in this island, that as a church, it cleaves to the true doctrine and faith of the Nicene Creed, concerning Holy Baptism. All parents and teachers especially are concerned in this; for how can they do their proper work with the souls of these little ones, if they do not ground it upon the grace of baptismal regeneration?

And over and above this, if the Church is really under such difficulties as I have now endeavoured to explain to you, and which surely amount to a very great and present distress, it must be good for His ministers, fearing Him, to speak earnestly one to another (as they will after the matter of doctrine is settled) upon the best means of performing their several tasks for the good of souls. Brotherly and Christian counsel will help them in their work, and will be accompanied with better help than their own. No one can tell how much our hands may be

thus strengthened, not only against the endeavours of the Roman Church—which now, alas! seems more than ever determined to deal with us as a scornful and unsparing enemy—but also against the yet greater and more pressing danger of proud and lawless unbelief—against him who is the common enemy of all.

Once more, then, I ask your prayers for the Church of Exeter, both during their synod and after it, and for all who are like-minded. Pray for them, brethren, I earnestly beseech you; and may we all be on the watch to help as we may, with a mind (if need be) to suffer also, in the cause of the Church of England in her present distress; and, above all things, may we never damage it by undutiful, scornful, or otherwise unchristian behaviour.

I desire to remain, always, dear Brethren,

Your loving Friend and Servant in Christ,

JOHN KEBLE.

Hursley, June 22, 1851.

A PRAYER

FOR A BLESSING ON ANY CHURCH SYNOD.

(Altered from one in the Works of St. Gregory.)

God, Who, by the gift of the Holy Ghost, the Comforter, wast pleased to unite the several nations in the confession of one holy faith, keep, we beseech Thee, the clergy and people of this realm with our Sovereign Lady the Queen, in the unity of the same faith; and grant unto those who shall now meet in solemn assembly, Thy mighty aid to order their counsels according to Thy perfect will: that obeying Thine admonitions, defended by Thee from all evils, and endowed with all good gifts, we, with all Thy whole Church, may serve Thee here in tranquillity and freedom, and hereafter be found meet for a portion in Thine eternal city: Through Jesus Christ our Lord, Who liveth and reigneth with Thee, in the unity of the same Spirit, one God, world without end. Amen.

THE SYNOD OF EXETER, 1850[a].

IN dealing with the momentous subject above indicated, we find ourselves under this peculiar difficulty,—that our words will fall in two perfectly different senses upon one-half of the world (so far as it may notice them at all) and upon the other. To the faithful and to the unbelieving we shall seem to speak quite in two heterogeneous languages. Faith is, in this, like sense—that they who have it not, receive no idea, directly, from the expressions of it in those who have it. The colours are spread before the blind; the music falls on untunable ears. And as the blind man, mentioned by Mr. Locke, could get no nearer to the notion of scarlet than to say it was like the sound of a trumpet, so the unbelieving find themselves reduced to all manner of strange conjectures, and analogies, and dim gropings after the truth, when they would account for the sayings and doings of the faithful.

We wish to declare, and we hope we shall be credited,

[a] 1. "A Pastoral Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of Exeter, on the present State of the Church." By Henry, Lord Bishop of Exeter. London: Murray.

2. "Holy Communion at a Visitation. A Sermon, &c." By the Rev. James Ford, Prebendary of Exeter. London: Masters.

3. "The Exeter Synod. A Letter, &c." By G. C. Gorham, B.D., &c. London: Hatchard.

4. "A Pastoral Letter to the Parishioners of Hursley, &c., on the proposed Synod of Exeter." By the Rev. John Keble. Oxford: J. H. Parker.

5. "Acts of the Diocesan Synod, held in the Cathedral Church of Exeter, by Henry, Lord Bishop of Exeter, on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, June 25, 26, 27, of the year of our Lord 1851. By Authority." Third Edition. London: Murray.

6. "The Two Synods; a Letter to Lawrence Palk, Esq., &c." By the Rev. John Ingle, &c. Exeter: Wallis.

7. "A Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of Exeter, on certain Statements of Archdeacon Sinclair, &c." By Henry, Lord Bishop of Exeter. London: Murray.

that we are not using these two words, "unbelieving" and "faithful," in any invidious sense. We do not mean by "unbelieving" that persons are altogether irreligious, nor yet by "faithful," that they hold the true faith of Christ. But thus it is; among the many and intricate religious distinctions which have arisen, and are, we fear, multiplying everywhere around us, we seem to ourselves to discern this broad principle of classification—that some believe that they are, or ought to be, truly and really in a supernatural state, changed in their condition, and separated from ordinary men, in a way analogous to the condition and separation of the children of Israel, especially in the wilderness: others account the times of supernatural interference, if ever they really existed, to be now passed away; truth and goodness are to them rather effects of God's ordinary providence—an improved and improving philosophy—than the result of inspiration and miracles, more or less hidden. The former of these modes of thought is here designated as "believing," the latter as "unbelieving;" much in the sense in which Faith and Sight are opposed to each other in Holy Scripture; and it is evident that a line marking out the respective prevalence of the two would, in some cases, separate whole denominations of religionists, Christian or unchristian, one from another; but it would more commonly form sections in each denomination, according as each person's temper or training led him for his own part to acquiesce in, or to draw back from, the supernatural element in what he was called on to believe. Nay, and each person in varying circumstances, and under varying moods of mind, would be now of the believing, now of the unbelieving, class.

But so far as any one may have lent himself to the unbelieving view, whether in accordance with, or in spite of, his religious profession, so far the remark with which we set out will be exemplified in him: he will be unable even to comprehend the religious sayings and arguments of the believing sect; it will be as a foreign language to him, or as a picture to a man blind from his birth. The

believer, to whom it is all plain, gets angry, as thinking that there must be dishonest affectation in an ignorance to him so unaccountable. But it is not so; the ignorance is real, and the opposition, on the opponent's principles, very natural. This should be borne in mind more than it is, both for truth's and charity's sake. How often has it occurred, in our late ecclesiastical disputes, that persons have allowed themselves to be moved far more than in reason they ought by the construction which unbelievers put upon documents, which, from the very nature of the case, believers only could construe and appreciate. The plain, literal, Catholic interpretation of the Prayer-book has been surrendered in favour of Rome or Germany, as the case might be, in deference, as was alleged, to the interpretations of men learned in the law. But what was their learning to the purpose, if they wanted faith,—if they had no perception of the Divine authority of the Church Universal, speaking always, everywhere, and by all? And which of us, again, has not been tempted to be very sharp and severe, in inward judgment at least, on our liberal and rationalist adversaries, as if they were knowingly and wilfully doing us injustice? whereas the true account of the matter probably is, that their want of faith absolutely hindered them from at all comprehending the words of faith, or perceiving the force of its champions' arguments. Our proper course, then, is not to be angry with them, but to seek some other process, if haply any may be within our reach, for enlightening them; as you would instruct a blind man about the objects of sight, by adducing the best analogies you could from the provinces of other senses, which are more within his reach.

These remarks, which will apply generally to all the topics on which we have had so much painful controversy of late—often with those whom we loved best;—may be specially exemplified in what has been said and written concerning the Councils of the Church, since the civil power began to interfere more avowedly with our old canonical rights, in confirmation of bishops and trial of doctrine. When the two astounding claims were made,

one after another, surpassing in extravagance all that had been hitherto imagined: the one, that the organ of the majority in Parliament for the time being should so appoint bishops as to supersede even all hearing of objections on the part of the Christian people, and all conscientious scruples on the part of the consecrating prelates; the other, that whomsoever the said organ might appoint to be judge of the Church's doctrine, their decision should be final, though they were not even members of the Church:—when these two extravagances, before inconceivable, were unscrupulously practised and doggedly upheld, by the professed champions of liberty in the State and purity in the Church:—it became impossible for simple and believing minds not to revert to the original charter of the Church: "As My Father hath sent Me, so send I you;" and, "Where two or three are gathered together in My Name, there am I in the midst of them;" and for those who knew anything of Christian antiquity it was impossible not to think of the ancient Church Synods, as having been from the beginning the ordained and specific remedy for public disorders and grievances in the kingdom of Christ. That the Hampden and Gorham outrage should lead to the attempted revival of Church Synods, was as inevitable as that wintry weather should bring warm clothing into use. We mean, supposing Churchmen to be believers—supposing them to put a real and abiding sense on the sayings of our Lord above cited, and others resembling them. But if they have no such faith,—if they have been taught to consider those promises as having been long since worn out, or, perhaps, as never having had more than a political or philosophical meaning,—then we have seen, by experience, that the mention of Church Councils, as a remedy, strikes them as so palpably unreal, that they cannot even believe the persons asking for such a thing to be sincere; they treat the whole as a jugglery of priestcraft, an attempt to revive unjust and obsolete prerogatives; or, at best, as a kind of sleep-walking,—an unaccountable deception, which has got hold of some well-meaning persons.

Synods are to them as parliaments might be to a Persian; the idea is so strange that they scarce know how to reason against it; they can but say over and over, that if a great many persons meet, they are sure to disagree. For into that one deep and wise proposition, we believe, all the arguments of the opponents of Synodical action, in and out of Parliament, will ultimately be found to resolve themselves.

The obvious truth is, that, as commonly happens in human proceedings on a large scale, the real motive of the unrelenting scorn or fierceness with which Church Councils are pursued, is kept, by a sort of instinct, in the background: the unbelievers in our supernatural state have an uneasy feeling, which they do not always distinctly avow, even to themselves, that the idea of a Church Synod cannot be quite separated from an idea of some special presence of our Lord: and this they cannot well abide; it brings them nearer to the time of miracles than they are used to believe themselves to be; and their hearts and intellects rise against it, as against tales of witchcraft, the speaking oxen in Livy, or any other "lying wonder." In this way, and in this only, can we account, *on natural principles*, for the extreme disgust with which so many persons, liberal and forbearing in general, regard the efforts which are making among us to obtain something like genuine and unfettered Church action. It seems to them that it may be part of a great system of imposition; and the Anglo-Saxon race, we need not say, is especially jealous of being imposed upon. Other people, the Irish for example, do not so much mind it, when it promises them outward comfort, and indulges their fancies; but your true Englishman would rather continue in sickness than be cured under false pretences. And his anger at being supposed capable of submitting to such treatment excites him, at times, to a degree of outrage quite comparable to anything which superstitious enthusiasm may have occasioned elsewhere. It is the very fanaticism of unbelief. Were it not for this, it would be

hard to understand how the passions of a whole town could be aroused by such a cry as "No surplice," "No offertory," or the like: mere negations, appealing to no man's business or bosom.

We dwell upon this natural and especially *English* tendency, in order to mitigate the sentence which comes instinctively into the minds of the believing portion of our readers, when they hear or read of the riots at S. Barnabas, the conduct of Lord Denman in the Hampden cause, the proceedings in the House of Lords on the Bishops' Bill for a new Court of Appeal, or any other extreme instance (not a few have occurred) of fanatical opposition to the Church on other than religious motives. We would not have it all set down to worldly and party calculation, or to the mere instinct of evil: much rather would we attribute it, for the most part, to a certain honest, but exaggerated and misguided, antipathy to the false and the unreal.

And this points at once to the natural means of allaying it. Shew that things are not false and unreal, and you take off the edge of this kind of opposition against them. They may be reasoned against as inexpedient, or otherwise wrong; they do not tempt people to throw brickbats, or declaim on the bench of justice in a passionate, one-sided way. Wisdom, then, and charity, will prompt the defenders of the Church to set about neutralizing this —the most dangerous because the most honest—element in the forces they have to contend against, by evincing in all persuasive ways the truth and reality, the genuineness and actual substance, of what they are about: and in this consists a great part of the value of such experiments as that of the Exeter Synod.

In short, all questions relating to the means and ordinances adopted by Almighty God in the Kingdom of Heaven, have their two aspects, the one natural, the other supernatural; and for judging of them according to the former, there is no need of faith;—the ordinary faculties of man, enlarged by experience, will enable him to pronounce upon them. And there can be no doubt that if the disturbing forces of sin and worldly passion could be

removed, very unbelievers might advance a good way towards a right determination of such questions. For if the law of England, according to our ancient boast—more patriotic perhaps than correct, is the perfection of common sense; much more the law of God. Even in the highest and most unearthly matters, in the very Sacraments themselves, inasmuch as they are practical matters, there will always be a traceable vein of moral, practical, intelligible fitness and expediency: and no truer service can well be done to the Church, than the bringing out this in the eyes of men as yet unbelieving. Indeed, a little reflection will perhaps shew, that a Church Establishment, according to the received sense of that term, is in fact—whatever it be besides,—a large experiment of this kind. It realizes and brings home to men the earthly and practical value of the Divine ordinances.

Now, this is just what the recent Synod has done, in its sphere and in its measure, with regard to that special Divine ordinance, the coming together of Apostles and Elders to consider of ecclesiastical matters. The Synod of Exeter has shewn, to well-meaning and candid unbelievers, men of the world and men of business, but aliens in heart from the supernatural system of the Church,—to such the Synod of Exeter has shewn, in a way which they must and do own in spite of themselves, that what they had thought an unreality and a sham, might indeed be a true practical thing, and be very available for bettering our condition as Christians.

In illustration of this, one naturally turns to that journal, which enjoys the very unenviable honour of being supposed to reflect, more exactly than any other, the varying features of popular opinion among us. All persons know—we need not therefore prove by quotation—what the "Times" thinks of the Bishop of Exeter, and how little favour it is likely to shew to any movement devised or directed by him. The same grave authority, last year, characterised the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, set forth by the meeting at S. Martin's Hall, as "a mass of indigestible rubbish, which none but

a theological ostrich could swallow." That doctrine, be it observed, is the very same as has been laid down by the Synod of Exeter in the first of its three Declarations. Again, the "Times" spoke with a kind of affected alarm of the petition for revival of Synodical action, addressed by that Meeting to Her Majesty: calling it a series of "most daring and absolute propositions on Church government:" and warned the Clergy, in its own high and dignified tone, "not to take any step of which they might ever after repent."

"The Meeting," it said, "had a certain importance, as indicative of the strength and the objects of a particular party in the Church, a party remarkable for the energy of its convictions, for its piety, its learning, and its love of spiritual power: but such a meeting is immeasurably far from representing the opinions and desires of the great bulk of the nation,"—(What then, Mr. Editor?) —"and even of the great bulk of the clergy and the churchmen of this land. No doubt, it is exciting to a body of men, deeply imbued with convictions which professedly repel all limitation and control, to listen to animated harangues, and to come into contact, as it were, with a multitude of minds animated by the spirit which suffers and inflicts martyrdom. But the delusions which have most led men astray, and have led the Church astray, have sprung from such exaggerations of feeling; they multiply some original error a thousandfold, and by a process of cumulative fallacy, lead men to rush into real evils from the dread of imaginary wrongs. That was the history of the late disastrous schism in the Church of Scotland; and the spirit which pervaded the meetings of the seceding clergy in the autumn of 1842, may fairly be matched with the ecclesiastical eruption which blazed last Tuesday in Long Acre.". . . . "In spite of the moderation of language preserved at this meeting, it is impossible to read its proceedings without asking oneself, what would be the fate of the Church of England and of the nation, if these opinions were entertained by her Bishops and her statesmen, or if the Church itself, placed under the government of men as zealous and unwise as these, were to stand adverse to the law, the laity, and the throne?"

"As who should say, I am Sir Oracle,
And when I ope my mouth, let no dog bark."

The warning, however grave the authority, was disregarded, as might have been expected; the attendants on the Meeting persevered, with more or less of earnestness, in the course which they had marked out for themselves: weeks and months went on, and by-and-by came the preparations for the Synod of Exeter; the Bishop's Pastoral appeared, announcing the Synod, and sketching out a plan for its operations. There was some curiosity to know what the "grave authority" would say, but there was a marvellous silence for a long while in that quarter; which was accounted a sort of phenomenon. The Clergy of Exeter were left this time to do as well as they could without any of the friendly advice which had proved so tranquillizing to the Diocese on a former occasion. They went on, however, in their own way, minding their Bishop more than they did the newspapers; and the result was what our readers know. At last, not until after the publication of the Acts of the Synod, the following statements were enunciated. (We omit certain sneering expressions and indications of personal dislike, which nevertheless have their value, as shewing the involuntariness, and therefore the reality, of the accompanying words of approbation):—

As to doctrine:—

"The declaration on the Sacrament of Baptism was adopted by an unanimous vote of the Synod; and it is a matter of great satisfaction that the opinions" of Mr. Gorham are "disclaimed, as a matter of conscience, by an overwhelming majority of his clerical brethren."

As to other things:—

"The Bishop of Exeter has rendered a practical service to the Church of England by demonstrating, that if she had laid aside the synodical unions of her Dioceses, it was not the law or the jealousy of the civil power that deprived her of those institutions. It rests with the Bishops themselves, in their discretion, to convoke those meetings, and with the clergy to attend them. They are, in fact, a very improved form of the Diocesan visitations now in common use; because, instead of a mere exhortation delivered by the Bishop to his clergy, they are appeals for counsel, support,

and advice from the Bishop to the body of which he is the head. They are invested with a degree of solemnity worthy of such an occasion, and they partake of that spirit of public discussion and representative government which pervades all that is most valuable in this country. . . . Although the announcement that the Bishop of Exeter had convoked a Synod of his Diocese was not received by the public without some distrust of the result, we are bound to say that hardly anything took place in the Chapter-house of the Diocese on this occasion to which any objection whatever could be raised, and much of what was done there was of indisputable advantage to the spiritual union and the public duties of the Church. . . . We assume with Bishop Philpotts, that these Synods are almost as old as the Church itself, and that the temporal law of this country has at no time interfered with them. Indeed, by one of the Canons of 1603, they are expressly classed with Diocesan visitations, as matters equally within the competence of the Bishops. Nor will it be contested that an elective body, consisting of two Presbyters chosen by their brethren for each Deanery, is a fair and convenient mode of ascertaining the sense of the clergy. On these grounds the Bishop of Exeter proceeded, with something of novelty, as far as the present usages of the Church of England are concerned, but with far more of antiquity and precedent, justified and sanctioned by the existence of a want of concert strongly felt by the clergy, which this proceeding has in great part removed. . . . The whole conduct of the meeting on the three successive days was devout and orderly; the discussion free, but not acrimonious, and the result definite. . . . Upon the whole, the only doctrinal matter discussed by this assembly was disposed of by the unanimous vote of all present, and the other topics were subjects of direct practical concern to the spiritual interests, the morals, and the education of the country. With this result before us, it would be unjust to such a body of men to animadvert upon their proceedings, because, under different circumstances, they might have been abused and turned to purposes of offence [b]."

Now, it is well known that the paper in question has no real opinions of its own on subjects of this sort; that its skill lies in dexterously ascertaining, and putting into

[b] "Times," of Tuesday, August 12, 1851.

terse and forcible words, the ideas current among the majority of the respectable "unbelievers" above described. We can hardly be wrong, then, in inferring from this change of tone, that there was something in the proceedings of the Synod so fair, true, and real, as to approve itself to the Anglo-Saxon mind in spite of many and strong prejudices.

In fact, the air and manner in which things were done was altogether different from what men had been led to expect. The debate, it was supposed, would be sharp and unseemly, the conclusions unreal and unpractical, in one of two ways—either that some violent party would prevail, something very outrageous be passed, tending to further divisions among Churchmen, perhaps to separation of the Church itself from the State—a course which would fail by its own vehemence, spending itself in mere sound and fury; or if the conservative tendency proved strongest, all would evaporate in a sort of rhetorical display—compliments bandied about, and resolutions passed in general terms; the great point being, that nobody should be committed to anything. Well might those who deprecate shams and shadows revolt from such anticipations as these; and it must be owned that they were not without excuse for forming them, considering the traditions about Convocation, in which, for the last hundred years, all good English boys and girls have for the most part been trained up.

But we must be allowed to remark in passing, what a very small historical induction these prejudices rest upon, what a very scanty page in the Church Annals of England they really fill. The ill-conduct laid to the charge of the English Convocation, even by such writers as Bishop Burnet and Mr. Hallam, does not date earlier than 1689, and cannot extend later than 1717, since, in the latter year, all power of acting, either for good or ill, was taken away from that body. Before the Restoration, the course of their debates is for the most part unknown (their records having been destroyed in the Fire of London); but it may be assumed that there was nothing

especially scandalous in their manner of debate, since no such charge is laid against them in the malcontent treatises of the time; and to the conclusions in which they resulted on various emergencies (excepting perhaps some of the Canons of 1640) no man can well violently object who professes himself at all an English Churchman, since those conclusions are the symbolical books and other main portions of the existing system of our Church. It comes, then, to this: that the English Church of all following generations is denied a constitutional right, (we may venture to call it so, for we have been all taught it in the Prayer-book, in so far as the Royal Declaration prefixed to the Articles is part of the Prayer-book,) avowedly on account of certain faults laid to the charge of the particular Convocations which sat between the first year of William and Mary, and the third or fourth year of George I. Those faults may be reduced to two heads,—occasional disorder and spitefulness in debate, especially as between the Upper and Lower House in matters of privilege; and votes unpleasing to the government of the time, and to the party which now sympathises with it. But discreditable debates, and disputes about privilege, are hardly a sufficient plea, unless persons are prepared to justify on like grounds the notion of governing the State without Parliaments. And the unpleasing votes undeniably related to questions on which the Clergy not only might fairly claim to have a voice, but were under a conscientious necessity of expressing their judgment; being such as follow: Whether it was expedient to take into consideration a scheme for partially altering the Prayer-book, for the satisfaction of Protestant Dissenters; and among other things, *to allow the validity of Presbyterian ordination*:—Whether certain important theological publications were, or were not, fit objects of Church censure:—Whether it was well at a particular time to declare Episcopacy to be of apostolical and Divine right:—Whether a certain course of ecclesiastical administration in time past had, or had not, been conducive to the welfare of the Church, (which enquiry was recommended to them

by the Queen in 1711:)—Whether the Clergy would do well, under circumstances then existing, to declare solemnly the validity of Lay Baptism. To these heads, we believe, may be referred all the determinations of Convocation, in those years which have given it so bad a name. Now, we are not considering how those questions ought to have been answered; but surely, if there were to be Clergy meetings and consultations at all, these were matters within their province. And to silence them, because you did not relish their conclusions, savours a little of a vigour beyond the constitution; and but for the comparative weakness of the suffering body, seems very like endeavouring to govern the State without parliament.

With regard to the first, in particular, of the questions above mentioned—the change of the Prayer-book, and admission of Presbyterian orders, proposed by King William and the Revolution Bishops in 1689;—our readers will perhaps recollect the remarkable confession of Bishop Burnet[c]:—

"There was a very happy direction of the Providence of God observed in this matter. The Jacobite Clergy, who were then under suspension, were designing to make a schism in the Church, whensoever they should be turned out, and their places should be filled up by others. They saw it would not be easy to make a separation upon a private and personal account; they therefore wished to be furnished with more specious pretences: and if we had made alterations in the Rubric, and other parts of the Common Prayer, they would have pretended that they still stuck to the ancient Church of England, in opposition to those who were altering it, and setting up new models. And, as I do firmly believe that there is a wise Providence, that watches upon human affairs, and directs them, chiefly those that relate to religion: so I have with great pleasure observed this, in many instances relating to the Revolution; and upon this occasion, I could not but see, that the Jacobites among us, who wished and hoped that we should have made those alterations, which they reckoned would have been of great advantage for

[c] "Own Times," ii. 34, fol. 1734.

serving their ends, were the instruments of raising such a clamour against them, as prevented their being made. For, by all the judgments we could afterwards make, if we had carried a majority in the Convocation for alterations, they would have done us more hurt than good."

What is this but acknowledging that, in the important instance referred to, the Convocation sympathised with the Christian people generally, and knew their mind far better than the Whig ministry and their Bishops did? and that, in consequence, a great evil was prevented, which would have taken place, had the government been left to themselves? A remarkable thing to have happened at the very time, which is most constantly and confidently appealed to, as warranting the ordinary prejudices against ecclesiastical assemblies. In that case, at least, they did well and seasonably a work which, in old times, genuine Whigs did not think amiss of—the work of a constitutional opposition. They acted as a drag upon the dominant party, otherwise, by its own confession, prone to what would have proved a dangerous extreme. Might they not be useful, at least, in the same way now? And, indeed, how could they well be mischievous, if clerical influence is so distasteful to the English people as the opponents of Synods tell us; considering the acknowledged legal right of the Crown to interfere, and stay their proceedings at any moment? The only available bar to such an exertion of prerogative would be a strong pressure from below; which might occur, perhaps, to a certain extent, in Queen Anne's time, but concerning which it is assumed by those who are against us in the present controversy, that if it took place at all at present, it would tell altogether the other way.

In truth, if we read men's minds aright, it is a far deeper feeling than the dread of occasional turbulence, or any other political effect of giving the Church liberty in this matter, which causes the Whig prelates, orators, and historians to speak of it in terms of such intense reprobation and disgust, and make it avowedly an exception to their

general principles of toleration and freedom. We say "avowedly," for to quote no more, Mr. Hallam's only answer to the Church's claim to be put on a level with other corporations is, "that we must take experience, when we possess it, rather than analogy, for our guide[d]." The ground of it all, we cannot but think, is deeper than they like to avow; it is the dislike of being imposed upon, the dread of the false supernatural, coupled with an unwillingness to believe that there is any supernatural system now going on. Thus Mr. Hallam in the very next sentence lays it down, that "ecclesiastical assemblies have in all ages and countries been mischievous when they have been powerful." No exception for those Convocations which accepted the Thirty-nine Articles; no exception for the great Œcumenical Councils, not even for that at Nice. We fear that the drift of all this is but too plain.

Asking pardon for this digression (which, however, we trust will not be found altogether irrelevant to our argument), we will proceed to notice one or two other not unnatural grounds of prejudice, by anticipation, against the Synod. The proceedings of our recently-formed Church Unions, and, in a different way, the occasional gatherings for debate which we have witnessed in one or two of our great Societies, may, no doubt, have caused somewhat of uneasy foreboding. But considerate persons, even at the time, remarked that neither of those gatherings were of a kind to come exactly into comparison with a solemn Synod of the Church. In the Church Unions, certainly, and to some extent in the Society meetings, the place not being consecrated, and what service there is being often of no very solemn kind, there is always a certain blind feeling of being unauthorized, a sensation of being, so far, under a modern "voluntary system," pleasant or unpleasant to each individual, as he has in him less or more of that longing for the supernatural, and faith in it, which we have noted as the cardinal difference between the two great classes of religion-

[d] "Constitutional Hist.," c. xvi.

ists in our day. But a Synod is held in a chancel, or in a chapter-house, or some other dedicated room, and professes to be an assembly of primitive, nay, Divine, institution: an instance, to say the least, of "two or three gathered together in Christ's Name;" a sort of "sacramental," with a special promise of grace. Such a thought, if one be not quite a scorner, brings with it something of awe and reverence; as republicans of good feeling are impressed by finding themselves in the presence of royalty: or unlearned men and unbelievers, in passing from an ordinary room into the dim religious light of such a church as S. Barnabas. Then, the meetings in question had no sufficient traditionary rules of order—the Church Unions none at all but what they extemporized for themselves. The Convocation, whenever it shall meet for discussion, will have a whole code of standing orders and precedents to fall back upon. It is ill reasoning, moreover, from the aspect and tones of a tumultuary concourse on some specially exciting occasion, to the probable demeanour, even of the same persons, taking their place day after day, in a familiar spot, for ordinary despatch of business. And, in justice, we will mention what it has occurred to ourselves to observe, in one at least of the too noisy meetings, in the National Society's Central Schoolroom, how that a very large proportion of the tumult, for which the poor parsons got all the credit from Lord Harrowby and other speakers, was caused by a few energetic laymen. Yet, under all these and other discouraging circumstances, when people had come together under leaders whom they respected, and had had time to say their prayers, it produced a day of decently good behaviour; as at S. Martin's Hall; and more favourable expectations of a possible Synod began to be entertained: and it was considered, that if the mere circumstance of agreeing not to applaud enabled such a body to keep itself in good order, much more would the silence of a holy place, with all its affecting associations.

Then, whereas the Church Unions started (how could it be otherwise?) in a somewhat unbusiness-like way,—

for they were embarrassed in many respects by the state of the law respecting them, which it required some time to ascertain: and they consisted often of persons brought together without any knowledge of each other, each man having to feel his way, as to whom he could act with, and how far:—formal Synods, on the contrary, like Parliaments, will soon arrange themselves in regular sections or parties; and business, as might be expected among Englishmen, will before long find its natural course and level.

All this men hoped, but hardly expected, as they came away from S. Martin's Hall: and now the "experiment solitary touching Diocesan Synods" has so far realized their hopes.

Another scruple, hard to speak of, has been yet more happily and entirely proved groundless. Politicians and newspaper readers, and men of the world, had their misgivings about the conductor of the great experiment: they knew more of him in his controversial than they did in his pastoral character; they thought, because in some of his writings he had not shrunk from the tones and modes of warfare which he had learned of our elder Divines,—or even from Fathers themselves,—and through the necessity which was laid upon him to exercise himself in legal and parliamentary debate, therefore he would surely make the Sacred Synod a place of display for that kind of skill. Here was the old mistake again: they made no allowance for the effect of faith; they could not understand how an eminent orator and debater, and the most skilful controversialist of his day, might, in a Synodical meeting, so really believe a Great Presence, as to be effectually guarded from the evil they were thinking of. The casting of crowns before the Throne—if we may reverentially make such an allusion—would seem a very strange proceeding to those who could not imagine how there should be any Throne in sight.

Lastly, persons were far from being aware beforehand to what an extent the Exeter Clergy were agreed. There had from time to time been untoward disputings in the

Diocese, and, as frequently happens, the few had made the most noise; insomuch, that Mr. Gorham

"confessed his bewilderment at the boldness of conception which had sketched out the plan of *such* a Synod, with the faintest expectation that it could meet with the concurrence of the Clergy, at a period, *and in a Diocese*, in which opinions on ecclesiastical matters are so greatly and so unhappily divided [e]."

A remarkable reason, by-the-bye, as was forcibly urged in the "Morning Chronicle" in reply to a similar statement on the part of the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the debate on Lord Redesdale's motion, to allege against a Synodical meeting, seeing that of the very first and pattern Diocesan Synod we read, that "the Apostles and Elders came together to consider" a certain matter, expressly because there had been concerning it "no small dissension and disputation." Further; the professed clerical opponents of the Synod, (stated by Mr. Gorham, p. 24, at somewhat more than 111 in number, and by an authority on which we can rely, at somewhat under 150), as well as the lay protesters at Exeter, were not wanting in endeavours to set strongly before the Clergy both the pains and penalties which might be incurred by the proceeding, and the necessity, as they represented it, which the members of the Synod would place themselves under, of agreeing to the special statement which the Bishop had announced: considerations sure to act upon many even of those who might substantially hold the Bishop's view, as all must be aware who know anything of the conservative element in the Church of England.

All this adds point and meaning to the expression of assent in those who did openly adhere both to the Synod and to its objects; amounting, we believe, at the time, to a full half of those who were qualified to vote. And more, it is understood, would now adhere, their scruples having been removed by the actual tone and proceedings of the assembly. And in proof that it was real agreement, and no undue surrender of judgment for the mere outward

[e] "Letter on the Synod," 2nd ed., p. 30.

show of unity, the "Acts" themselves are sufficient. Something may be found in almost every page of them, illustrating the statement made at the time, that

"while freedom of remark was most fully allowed, it was really wonderful to see how entirely the meeting was agreed on the main principles which they were called on to adopt."

In respect of unanimity, then, the Synod may seem to have clearly surpassed what might reasonably have been expected: and in other respects it surely warranted the hope that had been formed, that real ecclesiastical assemblies, when they should be given us, would be guarded against the ordinary faults of public meetings. Of course there was an entire absence, as befitted the place and occasion, of those light expressions, which are sometimes apt to occur in assemblies called even for very sacred objects, when the place is not sacred. There was no boasting that "Punch is with us." There were none of those *conventionalities*, whether by way of "unction" in general sentiment, or of high-flown compliment to this or that particular person, which are so apt to damage both the solemnity and the reality of our clergy meetings, as of late years conducted. For the Synod's moderation towards opponents, we point to the affecting language of the preacher, who, referring to certain recent and very unmitigated expressions of opposition, says:—

"Let us hope that these fears, *springing, as they no doubt do, from zeal, and earnest feeling, and jealousy for truth and peace supposed to be in jeopardy*, may be proved by the results of this assembly to be groundless[f]."

We point to the language of the Declarations themselves, both as regards the opponents of sacramental grace, of whom it is not obscurely intimated, that we believe great part of their scruples to arise from a misapprehension of the doctrine we hold on conversion: and also as refers to the Church of Rome, the doctrine whereof is characterised as erroneous, and the act of seceding to it

[f] P. 11. Compare Mr. Hole's Speech, pp. 54—56.

as schismatical; but the amount of the error is not specified, nor yet is anything said of the ecclesiastical *status* of Rome in other countries. That is, the Synod wisely, as well as charitably, has confined its remonstrance to the special points now requiring it: a matter of extreme moment in Declarations to which many are committing themselves, and which are intended, not to raise new points, but to set us right before Christendom in respect of some which have been raised against us.

One word may be said here of a phrase in the Declaration against seceding to Rome, which seems to have gone further than anything else (though it went but a very little way) towards creating a division in the Synod:—

"Secession from this Church," they say, "being a sound part of the Catholic Church, to any other religious community, is in itself an act of schism, and perilous to salvation: and in particular, secession to the Roman community in England is not only an act of schism, but involves also the abandonment of truth for error."

This proposition was understood by some as implying that secession to other bodies,—the Baptists, for example,—was *not* abandoning truth for error. But this surely was through want of attention to the rule, which was to be presupposed, that the Synod's Declaration was to be taken with reference to the occasion calling for it, and indicated in its preamble, like a clause in an Act of Parliament. Now the preamble to this Second Declaration states as the occasion of it the many cases of defection to Rome which have occurred in the last ten years. The clauses, then, are to be taken with reference to those cases; and the drift of them is, to lay upon every one so seceding the burthen of two distinct faults; the first, disavowing and separating from the portion of the Church in which God had placed him; the other, denying some portion, more or less, of God's truth. The latter was needful to be added in some form or other, because there are, or have been, some few, who professing to hold all Roman doctrine, yet remain outwardly in the English Church, holding it to be

a Church, and secession from it a sin; and because those who press the former alone are sure to be charged with adopting this view, strange and paradoxical as it is. "In particular," it need hardly be observed, does not here mean "more than in other instances," but "with reference especially to the case now in hand."

The methodical and business-like way in which the Synod applied itself to its work has been generally observed and admired; and, along with its other qualities, may serve to convince our jealous Anglo-Saxon hearts of that without which all would be worse than useless, both in itself and in their eyes—the *reality* of the proceedings, and the *truthfulness* of those engaged in them. All in these three refreshing days was eminently practical; the most tempting subjects for declamation and debate were introduced, and there was plenty of skill and eloquence to spend upon them; but the Synod considered only what it had to *do* with them,—did it,—and dismissed them at once. And having done its work, so far as the time allowed, it said its prayers, and "departed, as it had assembled, in peace."

There is a silence more emphatic than words; and the impression which this very serious experiment made upon men's minds may in some degree be judged of by referring to occasions on which it was *not* spoken of. The "Times," for a month and more, as we have seen, took no notice of it. But what seems almost more remarkable is, that on the 11th of July, just a fortnight after the termination of the Exeter Diocesan Synod, the subject of the Provincial Synod, or Convocation, was introduced in the House of Lords, and a very interesting discussion ensued, the representatives of different sections in the country giving their respective views: and no allusion to the course things had taken at Exeter. Only there was perceptible in the course of the debate a far greater respect for the notion of Church Synods in general, than had appeared on former occasions; and although the Archbishop of Canterbury clung to the old commonplace about the wicked doings in Queen Anne's time, the Prime Minister, leaving all that

alone, was fain to make the most of the grand anti-reform argument, that Convocation, with its old powers, was an anomalous thing, and if it were now revived, would be a new thing. What will future parliamentary historians conclude from the change of tone on one side of the House, and the silence with regard to the Synod on both? May it not be that the one was beginning to feel itself in the wrong, and the other knew better than to press it too hastily to confession?

But it is said, "Well and good: the Synod is a creditable thing, so far as it goes, and does good by the favourable impression it produces of the mind and temper of the Clergy; but after all, *cui bono?* Where are the visible and tangible results? Shew us something definite, or our English minds cannot be satisfied."

We reply, first, It would be no small result, were it only to issue in the casting of a new type for Episcopal Visitations,—hitherto, if not among the most serious, yet among the most open and palpable offences in the practical system of our Church of England, in the way, at least, of seeming languor and unreality. "What can we reason from but from what we know?" and what sort of knowledge concerning Bishops and their offices may we expect ordinary townspeople to gather from a Visitation conducted as ours have been for a very long time past? Notice indeed is given, as of a Confirmation, but there is no immediate personal interest to attract men's minds to it. So much the more need of a grave ceremonial, when the time comes; here, if anywhere, we might relax our intense jealousy of Processional Services, which certainly are not alien to our English feeling;—witness the two in the Prayer-book, one at marriages, the other at burials; as also that used in the consecration of churches;—who has not seen what a deep interest they create? But generally, as far as we know, the Bishop meets the Clergy at the inn, or perhaps at the parsonage-house, and they straggle after him, as they may, into the church. When they are there, the service is too commonly mutilated, and the

arrangements discreditable, after the present town fashion. And by some strange oversight, it has nowhere hitherto been customary to solemnize that grave occasion with Holy Communion: an omission, we need hardly say, which, outweighing as it does all other defects, throws a most painful light upon them all. Then the Visitation Court opens with an Oyez, Oyez, Oyez; in a form no more solemn nor significant than is used in the most ordinary temporal judicature for the trial of the most trivial causes, and administered by persons much of the same stamp as to earnestness and reverence, as those who wait upon those august tribunals, the petty sessions of a borough, or a county court,—the Clergy crowding into the chancel without order or regularity, side by side, as it may happen, with lay persons of either sex. Then the Bishop, or Archdeacon, or Chancellor reads his Charge, which may or may not be impressive or interesting, but which at the very best must labour under several grave disadvantages. Having to be repeated at each of the several stations, it must needs lack something of the reality and freshness of a proper *Concio ad Clerum*. Frequently the subjects are, many of them, more or less personal, and the persons most immediately concerned are present, and are known by every one to be so. Thus the document is apt to assume, in some degree, the shape and air of a public reprimand, without a trial, and without a possibility of reply: a process in general neither pleasant nor wholesome, either to the victims or to the bystanders. In short, it is very much like "preaching at" individuals in a congregation; and the results are such as these:—if there be present a disaffected churchwarden, understanding probably no other sentence of the Charge, he is sure to catch that portion of it in which his own pastor and curate are attacked; and he goes home and tells everybody, "There were two of the clergy, at any rate, who did not know which way to look:" if there be a vulgar refractory clerk, he will whisper a defiance in the ear of his next neighbour, such as the writer of this paper overheard at a Visitation many years since; the Bishop was giving

cautions against Clergymen indulging in field sports, and a well-bronzed, thick-set individual grumbled half-aloud, "*I'll* kill a few more partridges next season for this." Like to these, and much more serious, are the evil remarks and feelings which are sure to be occasioned by Episcopal Charges delivered in the usual way, so often as they apply themselves, rightly or wrongly, to supposed existing errors and ill-practices; and it is partly, perhaps, through a sort of instinct leading them to avoid these inconveniences, that so many of our Chief Pastors have been led to eschew on such occasions almost all matter that may be properly termed pastoral, and rather to consider themselves as Members of Parliament, reporting to those most nearly concerned the results of recent legislation; or as influential persons pleading the cause of great works of charity and piety; or, again, (but this more frequently in times past than now,) as theologians learnedly illustrating some point in which they took especial interest: objects, all of them, very necessary and useful to be attended to; *sed nunc non erat his locus*, and it was little wonder, if neither clergy nor people in general have felt any hearty and abiding interest in documentary statements of that sort, or reverenced them as portions of the Church's real spiritual work.

After the Charge, or before, as the case may be, comes the superintendence of the Churchwardens' work, the sad task of giving in and receiving papers "solemnly declared" to be a true presentation of all gross and scandalous offenders within the respective parishes; but (through the profane tyranny of the State) known and avowed not to contain one single case, how notorious soever the occasion for it. This again is no good way of securing and increasing the respect and affection of the people to the Church, or of winning them to make much of her ministrations.

By the time the Churchwardens are dismissed, the dinner is ready: of which we will only say that it somehow or other is apt to take up too much time, and to associate itself unduly with one's recollections of the day: seldom

or never, we verily believe, running into positive excess, yet still occasionally giving too much countenance to remarks such as are said to have been overheard at an hotel where such feasts were regularly celebrated.—There had been, it seems, on two following days, a Visitation dinner, and a great meeting of dissenting ministers; and it was remarked as "a fact in natural history," by the waiters and people about the inn, that "the Clergy drank more wine than the Dissenters, but the Dissenters ate more heartily than the Clergy." Now, it may seem but a trivial thing, yet on reflection, who can help feeling that it greatly derogates from the dignity and reverential effect of the day, to be associated at all with any such comparisons and criticisms?

After the dinner come the speeches: and we wish we could say that, as a general rule, they had no need to claim the allowance usually conceded to after-dinner speeches; when, men's minds being unbent, great liberties are, perhaps not inexcusably, granted them in the way of saying all that they feel, and a little more, of admiration and regard towards those whom they wish to compliment. But such unreality is surely out of place, when the under-shepherds of the flock are fresh, as it were, from giving in their account to the chief pastor: all words then should be grave and measured, and above all, *true:* personal talk, as such, should be religiously eschewed. We must say, from a good deal of experience, that were it not for fear of seeming undutiful to those who preside, and unkind to his brethren, we should expect every person of ordinary good taste, to say nothing of true clerical feeling, to turn his steps homeward on Visitation days, directly from the church door; were it only to avoid this crowning unreality of all, the professions and compliments, in which that time is lost, which might be spent in at least endeavouring to hold conference upon some portion or other of the immense interests wherewith the assembly is entrusted.

Now the late Synod of Exeter, whatever it may be or not be in other respects, is obviously a precedent for at

once getting rid of many of these distressing anomalies, and opens the way to abatement of the rest. First, as to the previous interest,—a free deliberative Council of a Bishop with his Clergy is one thing, and the Bishop alone reading a pamphlet with his opinion on a few topics of the day, is another thing. The one announcement would naturally take more effectual hold of men's thoughts than the other. It is now said, indeed, that there has been in Exeter, all along, great apathy about the Synod: but surely the very eagerness of opponents, in their meetings and newspapers, demonstrates unusual feeling of some sort; nobody could have walked the streets of Exeter on the day preceding the Synod, and have seen all the irritating placards and inscriptions, without feeling that the opponents of the Synod had done their utmost to secure a popular tumult; and therefore the very quietness, in a place where the elements of uproar exist so abundantly, as had been sadly proved on former occasions, may well have been an effect, not of indifference, but of real expectation—men wondering what would come of it. When the day came, the services were as solemn as possible: most especially, (what is *instar omnium*,) the gracious promise of our Lord, "There am I in the midst of you," was acknowledged and realized in His own appointed way, by the celebration of Holy Communion: which improvement indeed had been adopted all through the previous Visitation, as if the coming Synod were, as it were, casting before itself a kind of beneficent shadow[g]. And who can say what effect this one circumstance may have had on all that ensued? Who can help wondering that this alone should not have stayed certain good and conscientious men in their rude and unsparing censures of the whole proceeding?

In another important circumstance that Visitation was unlike what we have been used to witness: we mean, in the substitution of a previous Pastoral Letter for a Charge repeated at the several stations. Some of the great advantages of this change are implied in what we have written

[g] See Mr. Ford's touching Visitation Sermon.

above: in addition to which, whoever considers, will perceive that it leaves the Bishop and Clergy much more free than the way hitherto more usual, for reproof, warning, encouragement, on the one hand; enquiry, remonstrance, explanation, on the other: it spares the unnecessary wounding of personal feelings, as well as many scandals; saves time and temper, and is altogether a more thoughtful and dignified course. For which cause, as we imagine, it was commonly adopted in the Churches of Christ, and particularly in the English Churches, until a comparatively late period[h]:—the first mention that we are aware of,

[h] In Strype there occur many records of Visitation, with no allusion whatever to anything like a modern Charge,—and in one, to us peculiarly interesting, being a notice of Archbishop Parker's first Visitation at Canterbury, we have a minute of all that was done, in which it was not likely that an important circumstance, like the delivery of a Primary Charge, should be omitted. (Life of Parker, b. iv. c. 3.) "The Visitation began with the celebration of the Prayers *and Holy Communion* in the Chapter House, by one of his Chaplains, the Dean and Clergy present. Which Visitation he continued from day to day, until the 22nd day of the same month. And then he gave forth to the Clergy and Laity of his Diocese, divers wholesome injunctions. . . .

"The particular method and manner of this Visitation, how first to be entered upon, for the more regular and orderly proceeding, (as the Archbishop delighted to do all his matters with a grave and solemn decency) was thus appointed:—

"First, That the service be done in the choir by eight of the clock in the morning.

"Secondly, That all they of the choir, with the whole foundation, after service done, stand in the body of the church on either side of the middle aisle, in due order; and that the Dean, Prebendaries, and Preachers, do come to the Palace to wait upon my Lord's Grace to the church. *Item*, At the entry of my Lord's Grace into the church, the choir to go up before him, singing some anthem. *Item*, They being all placed in the choir shall sing the Litany. *Item*, That being done, the grammarians and the choir to go up into the presbytery, two and two in order: and so on the back side of the choir, by Bp. Warham's chapel into the Chapter House. The Archbishop, Dean, Prebendaries, and Preachers to meet them at the stairs' head. And they only with the Archbishop's Officers to be *infra cancellos*. And there and then, before the beginning of the Sermon, to sing the Hymn *Veni Creator*, and in English. The Dean to say the Collect following for grace, beginning *Gratias agimus*, &c. in English. *Item*, These things being done, the Preacher to proceed in his sermon. Which being done, all the extern laity to be commanded out by the beadle. *Item*, The Dean or Vice-Dean to bring in his certificate. And all they of the church to be called and sworn, and monished to bring in their several presentments," &c.

of an Episcopal Charge after the now prevailing pattern, not occurring until since the Restoration. We allude to Bishop Morley's Charge, in or about the year 1670, mentioned by Nelson in his "Life of Bishop Bull," as having contained a censure on something in the *Harmonia Apostolica*. After the Revolution the fashion seems to have become general. Burnet, Bull, and Fleetwood are instances of it. Curiously enough, its prevalence dates from the time when the Clergy of the second order began to be looked upon with more jealousy, and their privileges to be silently curtailed by the revolutionary government and its prelates. To compel the hearing of a long Charge, was no bad way of occupying the time which might otherwise have been spent in inconvenient discussions.

But let the historical point stand as it may, the substitution of a Pastoral Letter for a Charge is so obvious an improvement, as things are now, that we cannot but hope to see it regularly adopted. And then, there being more leisure for the overseeing of the churchwardens' work, we may reasonably hope that it will be more attentively and thoroughly done. With a little effort and watchfulness on the part of the Clergy, one Visitation after another, the atrocious state of the law in regard of presentations for immorality may be so completely exposed, that the decency of the nineteenth century will be unable to endure it any longer.

On the whole, our readers, we think, will agree with us, that the Exeter experiment will have been worth trying, if only as a precedent for such obvious improvements in the mode of Episcopal Visitation as have been now briefly sketched. Those meetings, according to a high authority, were meant to be "Clergy Councils for the benefit of the Diocese[1];" substitutes, in a way, for proper Diocesan Synods. If they be councils, there must be discussion; but in ordinary Visitations there is no discussion, except incidentally in the course of the afternoon. But

[1] "Country Parson," c. 19.

we must all feel that a solemn chapter-house is a better place for clerical deliberation than the dining-room of an inn, and that it follows more becomingly upon Holy Communion than upon an ordinary meal.

The truth is, Episcopal Visitation was meant to be judicial, not deliberative: its conciliar meaning and aspect, spoken of by Herbert, was a mere after-thought, and, if ever practically acknowledged, has entirely passed away. The method of proceeding by Pastoral Letter and Synodical assemblage (as the "Times" has pointed out) is, in fact, realizing Herbert's idea, as completely and judiciously perhaps as could well be wished.

But there is another great and obvious need of the Church, to which assemblies like that at Exeter are most critically adapted. The *ordinary* Visitation, to proceed as it should do, implies the existence of Diocesan Synods: but in *sudden emergencies* they seem really quite indispensable. Ask any one who has been called to do or suffer in the ecclesiastical troubles of these three sorrowful years, from the appointment of Dr. Hampden down to the Archbishop's unhappy letter to Mr. Gawthorn—has not our first feeling all along been, "Ought not something to be done? but we know not which way to turn: we are unauthorized: who shall act for us, or shew us how to act?" and our second thought, (when we found that our Bishops failed us, as ever since Christmas, 1848, we too certainly knew that they would,) was it not to long for some canonical way of taking counsel together? in default of which, we have found ourselves driven to irregular action, both of individuals and of Church Unions; irregular, but, under the circumstances, indispensable, for without them, how were Christ's people to know what our true meaning was? There has been misunderstanding enough as it is; but had it not been for the Church Unions, there would have been a good deal more. Without such hints, explanations, and limitations, as they have from time to time supplied, our confusion and bewilderment would have been, humanly speaking, hopeless. Still the very act of coming together irregularly has brought more vividly be-

fore us the need of regular and orderly assemblage; and a Diocesan Synod, now that we have seen it with our eyes, proves itself to be the very friend in need, in search of whom we were wistfully looking round, when those "enormous acts of mere power" forced us into our defensive position.

Moreover, all good and charitable hearts would surely wish to lessen, as far as might be, the exceeding danger to individuals, arising out of such a state of things; when, in default of acknowledged and official organs, people betake themselves, here and there, to this or that person, whom they judge most worthy of their confidence,—a perilous thing, both for him and them, and such as that they who know most of it will most rejoice in an arrangement, which, referring Churchmen to their natural leaders, would take away all necessity of choosing for themselves. Even after all that has happened, we cannot help believing, that if the Synod of Exeter had been in action when first the judgment in appeal on the Gorham case was promulgated, and had then set forth its present doctrinal statement, the great body of those who are called moderate Low Churchmen, would have seen that in substance of doctrine there was more agreement than they had imagined, and that the only thing sought to be condemned was that which they would join in condemning—the denial of all Sacramental Grace. In like manner, had there been a Synod of Hereford in 1848, may we not hope that the Clergy and Laity of that Church would have seen their way how to resist the uncanonical and oppressive intrusion? to which, as things were, they submitted, as we verily believe, from the mere feeling of helplessness.

We say, the Laity as well as the Clergy: for this again is one of the main benefits which we expect, if it please God, from the principles of the late Synod, properly carried out,—that it may bring back to the Christian people, or lay communicants, their proper function in the government and discipline of the Church, from which they are now irreligiously and oppressively debarred, by the intrusion of those who either are not communicants, or

would not be so, if Christ's discipline were free to act. The Bishop of Exeter has emphatically declared his own view on this matter[k].

"I trust the time will come when we shall be able to hail the great body of the people of England as the real laity of the Church. I shall be in my grave long before that period arrives: but most certainly, were that period now arrived, I should not only consider it right to consult them, but I should rejoice to have the real body of the laity present at the approaching Synod. I should hail it as one of the greatest blessings. I should remember how S. Cyprian, and all the ancient Fathers, regarded the laity as so deserving of confidence that they never did anything without consultation with them, except as respecting the guardianship of truth. That was a trust which they could not permit any other bodies than themselves to guard, the spiritual body being properly entrusted with the guardianship of the faith; and S. Cyprian, who was most anxious for the counsel of the presbyters and the concurrence of the laity, never dreamt of letting them decide matters of faith."

"Barrow, speaking of the Pope's supremacy, says,—'Every Bishop in his own Church did act freely according to his will and discretion, with the advice of his ecclesiastical senate, and with the consent of his people (the which he did use to consult), without being controllable by any other, or accountable to any, further than his obligation to uphold the verity of the Christian profession, and to maintain fraternal communion in charity and peace with neighbouring Churches, did require.' It is to that that I look as the point to which all our efforts should be directed. We should strive to recover the purity, the simplicity, and the power, in its genuine sense, of the Church; not the power of the Clergy, far less of the Bishop, but of the real Church—Bishop, Clergy, and Laity, united in one common object for the good of their common Church; and to the laity, as the great body, should be paid great attention and great deference; and I declare I do not believe a man in this country exists more anxious to have the real authority of the real laity than I am, as I am sure there is not one who would go further than I would to obtain it."

[k] See his Speech at Plymouth. "Guardian Newspaper," p. 435, No. 289.

That is the Bishop's view: and who knows how far he might have been able to carry it out, even at this very time,—who knows but this Exeter Synod, in addition to its other services, might have helped effectually to solve that most difficult and much canvassed problem, how to combine the due influence of the Laity with the sacred prerogatives of the Apostles' successors,—had not the unfortunate prejudices of some whom we respect united with the vulgar hate of many whom we cannot at all respect, to stir up, if possible, confusion and opposition in every parish of the Diocese?

What course his Lordship might have taken for the realizing his earnest wish, had no such difficulty existed, it is not for us to conjecture. But, speaking of course only for ourselves, we will just indicate the mode and degree in which we consider that appeal to the Laity might be feasible and right on such an occasion; how it might be carried on, consistently with the invariable rules, or Common Law, so to call it, of Christ's Kingdom. The true Laity of the Church,—that is, those who duly participate in the Sacraments according to the Canons,—might perhaps be considered as having a right to be officially informed by their own representatives — who, for that purpose, not with authority to vote, should be present at the Synod—of all its resolutions and proceedings. And of any determinations concerning doctrine, in particular, the ancient custom of the Church would require them to be so informed, as that they might, after consideration, signify either their assent to such decision, or their wish to have the matter re-heard in another Synod: in other words, they might either submit, or they might go on for the present under appeal. We do not find in Antiquity that they ever had power, either in a body or as represented by their chief governor, directly to reverse what the Clergy, after due deliberation, had freely decreed. But the indirect power of demanding that the cause be re-heard, they seem to have exercised without limit. And this is the proper province of the Church diffusive, supposing it dissatisfied with a decree otherwise œcumenical.

The appeal might go on, the matter might continue in abeyance, for whole generations, if need were, without prejudice to the Church's being, though often with most painful consequences to its well-being. But the Church diffusive, the whole body of Christian people, was sure to prevail, if consistent, even in modifying doctrinal decrees; for although, as laymen, they could not vote in Council, they had the undoubted power of electing those who did vote,—the Bishops: and so, if the Bishops of one age proved unfaithful, yet if the Laity did but abide faithful, the remedy, though more or less slow, was sure;—they had but to elect, as vacancies occurred, orthodox in place of heretical Bishops, and by-and-by the majority, and in time all, would be with them. The whole process is very analogous to that by which the people of England have their own way in temporal matters: they cannot directly reverse the votes given by their representatives, how wrong and how displeasing soever; but they may indirectly secure such reversal by taking care, when the time comes, to choose representatives who will promote it. So that eventually nothing shall for good continue to be enacted as a term of communion, or universal law of the Church, whether in doctrine or in discipline, but that to which the whole Church, Clergy and Laity, has by its representatives assented; according to the saying of Hooker, "The true original subject of power to make Church laws is the whole entire body of that Church for which they are made." And we have the express promise of our Lord, that however it may be in details, nothing shall ever be assented to, as a law or doctrine, by the Church diffusive—*semper, ubique, et ab omnibus*—so bad as to forfeit the entire covenant and destroy the very being of the Church. Less than this we can hardly understand, to quote no more, in that gracious promise, Isaiah lix. 21: "As for Me, this is My covenant with them, saith the Lord; My Spirit that is upon thee, and My words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever."

Now to apply this theory of Church legislation to the special case in hand. Although—probably in great measure from the unhappy cause above alluded to—there were no laymen present as members of the Synod of Exeter, one can imagine the Synod recommending to the Clergy of the several parishes, that they should make known its determinations to the laity within their cures—that is to say, to those whose rule is to communicate regularly at least three times a-year,—and to request their adhesion to what had been done; and in proportion as such application was successful, might it be truly said that the whole Church of Exeter, and not the majority only of its Clergy, had affirmed such and such doctrines, and bound itself, not in law, but in conscience, to such and such rules. On the other hand, in proportion as any dissented, the matter would remain, as I said, under appeal—under appeal to the next highest authority, which could be no other than a Provincial Council; unless indeed they could obtain a re-hearing in the Diocesan Synod itself. And in the meantime, supposing the law of the land not to interfere, persons on both sides would be left free to influence others, and be influenced, with a view to such eventual re-consideration:—and one should wonder if, when the time came to hold another Synod, the laity of the several parishes should not think it worth while to depute some of their number, one, say, from each Deanery, to be present in the Chapter-house, as the Emperor's Commissioners used to be present in General Councils.—They might not vote, at least not on doctrinal questions, nor on matters of strictly spiritual discipline. They might only make suggestions at the time, and report to their constituents. It is evident without explanation, how much indirect influence they would thus gain over the deliberations of the actual body: and besides, as the Laity of old, by the slow but sure process above alluded to, could amend the Church laws through their prerogative of electing Bishops, so the very composition of an English Diocesan Synod cannot but depend in a great measure on the mind and will of the English people. What with private patronage, and what with political power, they,

at more or fewer removes, have really the appointment of their Bishops and all pastors. Nor does any one complain of this, if only decent care were taken that aliens and profligates should not interfere.

We would put it with all earnestness to the truly respectable persons, who have allowed themselves, whether in Devonshire and Cornwall, or elsewhere, to be carried away by fears and jealousies of the result of Synodical action,—we would put it to them, whether they would not consult much better for their own real and legitimate influence as Christian laymen, by falling in with such a plan as has now been indicated, and using it soberly and Christianly for the good purposes to which it is evidently applicable, than by summoning or sanctioning ordinary public meetings, and eliciting speeches for the newspapers from all sorts of people on matters so very serious and sacred? In which of the two courses is there most danger of deviating into disrespectful language, and damaging —if so be—a good cause by low and unworthy means?

It seems almost certain, that when such a system as this of real lay co-operation had been tried and had prospered in a Diocesan Synod, the principles of it would be felt to be applicable to the Provincial Synod, or Convocation, also, and those whom it most concerns might account it more statesmanlike, to let the Church be quietly influenced by her own faithful laymen, acting with her own Clergy, than to be for ever rudely forcing upon her such persons and measures as are known to be most distasteful to her.

A successful Diocesan Synod, then, especially if it hold out a good hope of combining with itself a system of lay co-operation, would be one of the best omens of a successful Convocation, or Provincial Council: which would in some sense be only the more needed, if the several Dioceses did not quite agree: for it would be the only way of moderating their disagreement; too likely, if let alone, as every day's experience is shewing, to end in irretrievable schism.

And here we will say in passing, that it is the greatest

possible mistake to imagine, that by merely not interfering, by allowing each party to say and do what they please, you at all promote the reconciliation of rival Church parties. Children do not quarrel the less, if they are left free to quarrel all day long. Let them be with other children in school, — some school where there are laws and traditions concerning the right mode of conducting a quarrel,—and they will learn to make the least of their differences, if they cannot quite agree. So let the opposite parties meet within the walls of Convocation, when the more eager will be controlled by the more moderate, and all by the rules of debate; then personal prejudices and misunderstandings will be, many times, presently corrected, and real differences sometimes made up. But as it is, we have something too much like the aspect which the political world would wear, the Carlton and Reform Clubs and all the other resorts and means of party continuing just what they are, and no House of Commons to bring the opponents together.

Over and above all this, it is becoming daily more evident, that without some larger measure of practical freedom allowed to the Church, she will not be allowed to go on much longer serving the State at all: her many foes will come down more fiercely upon her, and her defenders will grow more lukewarm, exactly in such measure as her doctrines and discipline are withdrawn, and her temporalities remain, scarce decently accounted for by her civil and social uses. Now, if she is to have freedom, her Synods, properly modified, are the natural form and organ for her to exercise it in; and the least embarrassing and dangerous, were it only that they bear the plainest analogy to what we are used to in the civil state.

We have heard it, however, stated as against Diocesan Synods, that there is a danger of their rather delaying, than furthering, the long-desired session of Convocation. One alleged reason was this: that the representatives of the Diocese would come to Convocation more or less hampered by the proceedings of the Synod, in which pro-

bably themselves would have taken part. But what does this objection amount to? In a great question of principle, such as that which is now at issue among us, it is morally impossible but that many of those who are to deliberate must have committed themselves beforehand on one side or on the other. Members of Parliament belong to clubs, write books, attend public meetings, pledge themselves to their constituencies; yet deliberation goes on, and they are free agents: and so in this case: men will not be so bound by their previous assent to the determinations at their Diocesan assembly, but that they may change their mind in Convocation, if Truth demand it of them. The Diocesan Synods are but as Primary Assemblies: they look at every subject with a consciousness that their decision is not final; and the very knowledge of this would be sufficient in general to guard against the apprehended inconvenience. On the other hand, their action will probably be the greatest help to that of the Provincial Assembly in one of the most material points: that is, in preparing subjects for its discussion,—collecting and methodizing information and argument for its use;—of which kind of work the Synod of Exeter has already set an example, in nominating a Committee to examine and report on the colleges so strongly recommended for agricultural labourers. It is manifest, too, that such Committees, sitting in the interval between one Synod and another, may be of the greatest use in watching what is done by Parliament or public men affecting the Church, and by sounding the alarm when needful.

Even by such a feeble and hasty statement as this, the principle of Diocesan Synods would appear to be amply justified, and also the seasonableness of the Synod of Exeter in particular; and that on grounds, not at all of faith, but of plain practical common sense, such as the most unbelieving may be at no loss to appreciate.

We proceed now to take up the other ground. How do the Synod and its proceedings appear to the eye of

Faith? As true believers, or desiring to be so, in our own supernatural state—in the One Catholic and Apostolic Church, according to the sense in which those words were understood in the three first centuries—how do we find our position improved, or otherwise, by the holding of this Synod at Exeter?

There are obviously three main points, in which the believing heart and soul finds itself disquieted by the present state of the English Church,—two of Doctrine, and one of Discipline. There is, first, the denial of sacramental grace, which trenches on the article of One Baptism for the remission of sins; secondly, the exaggeration of the Royal Supremacy, virtually denying the One Catholic and Apostolic Church; and, thirdly, our continual intercommunion with persons upholding these and other fundamental errors, some of them in very high place.

In regard especially of the first of these three points, we think it undeniable that the Synod of Exeter has materially strengthened our cause. It has expressly, by its proper ecclesiastical authority, affirmed the doctrine of sacramental grace, as far as that doctrine had been impugned by the proceedings of the Government, and of Churchmen lending themselves to these proceedings. Of the value of such re-affirmation we may the more adequately judge, if we recall what our feelings were immediately after the offensive judgment, and how joyfully we should then have welcomed such a fact as the Synod—the overwhelming majority of a large Diocese coming solemnly forward in support of the truth. We should have felt that we could hardly in reason have expected any more encouraging response to the call then made upon us, to obtain from the Church of England, with or without the assent of the State Courts, an authoritative repudiation of the erroneous doctrine sanctioned in the Gorham judgment. For a single effort, all would then have said, hardly anything could have happened more hopeful.

But is it not in some respects even more hopeful now? —now, that after so many distressing months, so many

temptations to fall back or swerve aside; such an uncompromising, unpitying course, on the part of those who have temporal power, setting their rigidly exclusive mark on all who do but question their dealings with the faith; such ungenial and (the word must be spoken) unfatherly demeanour in the highest places of the Church; and, worst of all, after the sad proof given by not a few of those whom we then trusted, that, consciously or unconsciously, they were acting without faith;—after all this, and much more that might be mentioned, so large a proportion of our quiet hard-working Clergy are found at once answering the call of their Bishop, himself the object of much odium, in a cause more or less unpopular—pledging themselves before God and man, *and taking the Sacrament upon it*, to hold the Article which has been impugned in its fulness, as not only true, but necessary? We feel more and more as we write, that it is *most* encouraging: we couple with it the circumstance that the young men of our Universities, and the majority of those who are candidates for Holy Orders, go on still, as in other years of late, indicating by no doubtful tokens their adherence to the old and true ways—the rather, we verily believe, (according to the ingenuousness of youth,) because those ways are scorned and discouraged. When we put it all together, remembering also how it was met and anticipated by news from the Southern Ocean and from beyond the Atlantic—as it is written, "Before they call I will answer,"—it really seems to us quite wonderful, that any real believer in God's providence, and in the Creeds of the Church, can fail to discern His merciful interference;—that any generous and loving heart can bear to think of separating at such a moment from such a cause.

We will illustrate our meaning by some touching and eloquent words of one to whom the Synod and the Church are deeply indebted. First, in language which may remind many of prognostications formed and intentions announced in the beginning of last year's misery:—

"I say, it is necessary for us to speak. My Reverend Brethren, it is high time for the Church of England, in some regular

way, to speak out. I have had many opportunities,—far more than most of my reverend brethren, (which is no cause of boasting, but it is a matter of fact,)—I have had, I say, more opportunities than most of my reverend brethren for knowing that. There is a wide-spreading and a wide-spread feeling of perplexity, and doubt, and dismay, prevailing among the members, the most attached members, of our Church upon this one specific ground; and again I say, let me speak it without offence, my object is to promote unity, and not discord; not to excite discussion, but to terminate disputes upon this one specific ground, that neither the Bishops as a body, nor our learned Universities as a body, nor our Capitular bodies, in all the anxious questions which have vexed and agitated the Church for many years past, have ever spoken out to lull the storm. My Lord, I do know, from extensive information, that that special cause has been at the bottom of the greatest part of the disturbance of men's minds in our own Church. Hence, and I speak it confidently, there have been many doubting minds; hence there have been some advancing to the edge of the mire of despondency, and some that have actually fallen into it. Hence there have been some that we have loved, and whom we cannot but love still, who have left the arms of the spiritual mother that begat them, and gone to one who has beguiled them to her bosom, and, like another syren, when she has got them in her power, has morally and spiritually transformed them. I speak this with the deepest grief, because there are among these men some that I have loved and valued as I have loved my own heart's blood; but I cannot conceal from myself the fact, that I do know, in many instances, that it has arisen from this cause. Only a few short days ago I received a letter from one reverend brother who has just joined the Church of Rome, and he says, especially, that this was the cause which drove him there. Now, my Lord, I trust I am saying nothing unbefitting this solemn occasion, when I do at this time, not before a mixed multitude, but in the presence of my reverend brethren, declare what I know to be the truth, and what I believe to be a most important truth for us to consider. Let me now, my Lord, very briefly state what many of these gentlemen have stated to me to be the quick process of their reasoning: but let it not be supposed that I go with them to their conclusions. They have said thus:—'We have had questions touching the very life of Christianity agitated

in our Church; we have found those who were our natural leaders, and whose place and duty it was to guide us in our difficulties, and to resolve our doubts—we have found them, not leading us, not guiding us, not resolving our doubts; and that appears to us to indicate, too surely, that the Church which is without a living voice, is without life and utterance.' I have said, my Lord, that I follow them not to their conclusions, for they are false; but certainly it is lamentable, most lamentable, that so much ground should have been given to lead them to the very edge of the conclusion. I go not with them—of course, I do not: but I do most deeply sympathise with them in their original difficulties, and I cannot but remember that there is a solemn text in Holy Writ, 'Woe unto them by whom the offence cometh,' and, 'Woe unto them that offend one of these little ones,' who may be weak in faith or in argument[l]."

Then, in accounting for Church Unions, he mentions how after the decision as to the Bishopric of Hereford, men said:—

"We feel that great and vital questions of our faith are at stake; we look to our natural leaders: we call upon them for help: we call upon our Bishops as a body; we call upon our Universities as a body: we call upon our Capitular bodies, whose very office it is to act as counsel to their Bishop, and as defenders of the integrity of the faith, we call upon them to help us: we call from morning to night: we look for the least indication of the fire of zeal falling from them, but there is no voice, no answer. 'Our natural leaders,' say they, 'lead us not; but God is our leader: we are sworn soldiers of the Cross, and if we may not fight as a regular army under our regular leaders against the enemy, *pro aris et focis*, let us have a guerilla warfare *pro Deo et Ecclesiâ*.' This is, my Lord, I humbly submit, the strictly true history of those anomalous, but necessary, bodies [m]."

Once more: of the Gorham case,—

"Upon that question, touching, evidently, the very centre of the faith, even here there was no voice to lead or to guide us; and I may say it is not Church Unions, neither is it the Clergy alone, who have felt this, but, as I can speak from my own experience, it is the laity of the middle orders, the respectable

[l] Speech of Mr. Oxenham, "Acts," p. 49. [m] p. 50.

and wish-to-do-well members of the Church, who have sought, and asked, and complained that they have sought and asked in vain, what, as members of the Church of England, they were to believe, and what they were not. I do say, then, my Lord, it is high time that the Church of England should speak out with a voice of authority[n]."

Here we have three distinct classes of Churchmen, concurring in the expression of the same longing: the acute and learned, who know the theory of the Church, and cannot be happy without realizing it; the stirring and practical, who would keep all Church officers to their duty; the simple and obedient, who want a guide for themselves and their children: and to each class, if the complaints they uttered were genuine, and not a mere contrivance to slur over a deeper discontent, the proceedings at Exeter cannot but prove a great relief. For, as common sense must shew them that under our circumstances, with aliens appointing our chief officers, it must be a work of great patience—perhaps of one whole generation or more—to obtain the true authoritative voice of the Church; (for she must be allowed time to win back her freedom, if she can; you must take off the gag, before you can know what words a person is minded to speak;) so, if we are not most unreasonably sanguine, we shall be well content, *as a beginning*, with the beginning that is now made: we shall feel, to use a homely simile, that we have got hold of the end of the string, by which in due time we, or those who shall come after us, will surely disentangle this painful and puzzling knot. What a pity to retire from the task in despondency,—to cut the knot in rude impatience! The Gorham decision—"bad luck to it"—was uttered in March, 1850, and this is September, 1851—just a year and sixth months. What is a year and six months in the measures of that Kingdom which is to abide for ever?—and yet even in that short time, besides innumerable other indications of the true living mind of the Church, we have by God's

[n] Speech of Mr. Oxenham, "Acts," p. 50.

mercy obtained this great thing, a *ποῦ στῶ*, a firm footing, a point around which all friends may gather, a base of operations for the great warfare in vindication of truth and liberty, to which we and our children are called. We have learned to regard our Dioceses as being what Scripture calls them, so many Churches, and not as mere unorganized parts of a National Church. One of those Churches in England, several elsewhere, have re-affirmed the Faith when in peril; the rest in their order, please God, will do the same: but it is God's work, and can only be done in God's time, with patience and great charity: for if ever there was a case in which the wheat was palpably in danger of being plucked up with the tares, this surely is such a case.

But here we are unawares anticipating a later portion of our argument. Before we go on to that, we must dispose of two grave objections, which have been started, the one as to the correctness of the Synod's doctrinal statement, the other to the practical sufficiency of the protest made in its behalf.

The first clause in the Declaration, after the preamble, stands as follows :—

"Acknowledging 'One Baptism for the remission of sins,' we hold as of faith that all persons, duly baptized, (and being adults, with fit qualifications,) are not only baptized *once for all*, but also are baptized with the *one true Baptism* of Him Who 'baptizeth with the Holy Ghost,' and Who thus making us to 'be born again of water and of the Spirit,' delivers us thereby from the guilt and bondage of all our sins, of original and past sin absolutely and at once, of sins committed after Baptism conditionally, when with hearty repentance and true faith we turn unto God."

Now exception has been taken, as many of our readers may know, to the parenthesis in this clause, "and being adults, with fit qualifications." Why, it has been said, give so much countenance to those who would separate the grace from the rite of Baptism? Why speak as if, duly given, it could be in any case null and void? Some have gone so far as to declare, that the Synod holds two

several Baptisms, one of water, the other of the Spirit —and that it concedes by this clause the principle of Mr. Gorham's argument: for if there may be a tacit hypothesis in the case of adults, why not, say they, in the case of infants also?

As a true and sufficient reply to all such objections—keeping in view the Bishop of Exeter's own account contained in the postscript (p. 43) to his recent "Letter to the Clergy on Archdeacon Sinclair's Charge"—we would allege that the Synod was not stating the whole doctrine of Holy Baptism; it had no call to do so: it had to deal with a special error, and to the disavowal and condemnation of that special error it did well to confine itself. The error lay in this: that Mr. Gorham, Mr. Goode, and with them the whole extreme section of those who would be commonly called Low Churchmen, maintain that Baptism may fail in efficacy even where no bar is interposed by the conscious unworthiness of the candidate. They do not all explain alike how this happens: Mr. Gorham says, that the original sin, existing in the child, if not removed by preventing grace, is a sufficient bar to its receiving Baptismal Grace; Mr. Goode lays the blame on the lukewarmness and unfaithfulness of those who present the child, as parents or as sponsors. The case of *conscious* unworthiness came in but accidentally, in the argument between the two parties: there was no necessity for the Synod to say anything of it; and we cannot but be of opinion, that not being necessary, it was better let alone.

The objection indeed supposes that it is not let alone; —that the Synod has so expressed itself, as distinctly to countenance the idea, that the Sacrament to the unworthy receiver is absolutely null and void;—but surely this is interpreting without consideration. The original draught of the Declaration, as we have understood, had no such clause. It ran simply thus:—

"All persons duly baptized are not only baptized once for all, but also are baptized with the one true Baptism of Him Who

baptizeth with the Holy Ghost, and Who, thus making us to be born again of water and of the Spirit, delivers us thereby from the bondage of our sins."

As the clause now stands, the word "guilt" is inserted along with "bondage," and this, if we rightly understand it, makes all the difference. We cannot imagine that an unworthy receiver—suppose Simon Magus, if he was really unworthy at the time—is delivered from the *guilt* of his past sins:—such a thought is contradicted by the terms of the Church's original charter, "*Repent*, and be baptized . . . . and ye shall receive the gift:" but we may conceive of such an one as being translated, against his will, and without his belief, into a new and supernatural state, in which, on the one hand, the guilt of his sins will be indefinitely aggravated; on the other, he has power by God's mercy in the Sacramental Covenant, to break through the *bondage*, if he will. It is a most awful thought, but it is quite conceivable: and all things considered, it is surely the view most conformable to Holy Scripture and Primitive Tradition. Still we are not aware that even this has ever been so authoritatively set forth, either by the Universal Church or by the Church of England, as to make it advisable for the Synod to pronounce it a matter of faith. We need not say that the doctrinal office of a Synod is strictly confined to re-affirmation,—in other words perhaps, and with more detailed application, but still in substance strictly re-affirmation,—of the faith once for all delivered to Christians: and those who find fault with the qualification here referred to, are bound, we conceive, to shew that the proposition which they suppose it to disparage is not only contained in that Faith, in the sense of being deducible from it by right reason, but also that it has been actually deduced from it, and made imperative upon us, by some sufficient authority. But where is the authority, either of the Church Universal, or of the particular Church of England, for holding as of faith that Simon Magus, if impenitent when he was baptized, was delivered thereby

from the *guilt* of his past sins? From the *bondage* of them, no doubt, he was so far delivered, that it was in his power, by the aid of God's good Spirit, to repent and break his bonds. So S. Peter plainly tells him; but in the meantime he was more guilty than ever. We consider, then, that it was not only wise and charitable, but absolutely necessary for the Synod, if they inserted the word "guilt" in the latter part of the sentence, to insert also the condition for adult baptisms, as they have done in the former part. And even had the sentence remained in its original form, perhaps the most prudent way would have been to decline affirming it as of faith; for, although it is the clear view of the African Church, as expressed by S. Augustine, and has been very generally received by later Theologians, and is altogether most conformable to the analogy of the faith; yet neither are the Fathers quite unanimous upon it, nor has it ever been ruled, as the doctrine of Infant Baptism has, by either of those plenary Councils to which we are bound to defer. And this perhaps is the reason why the Church of England pronounces nothing upon it, in her office for Adult Baptism. There is a well-known and very significant insertion in that office, which may have suggested this in the Exeter formulary; certainly the two are just parallel to each other; and they who blame the Synod for its mention of "due qualification," do they not, in effect, blame the Prayer-book for describing those newly-baptized, of whom we are "not to doubt, but earnestly to believe, that Christ hath favourably received them," as those only, "who truly repent, and come to Him by faith?"

It is true the same office goes on to declare positively, and without any condition whatever, that the new-baptized are regenerate and grafted into Christ's body: they are received into that supernatural state and mysterious relation to our Lord, which will be their greater condemnation if they are now, and continue to be, unworthy; even as it will be their eternal salvation, if they walk according to it. And this statement might have gone a good way towards justifying the Synod, had they retained

the original form in their Declaration. But it would have made long explanations necessary. Care must have been taken to set forth clearly the somewhat unusual aspect in which Regeneration is here contemplated, not as the beginning of Sanctification, but as a change of spiritual condition, one might almost say, of nature—an unspeakable privilege to be used or abused at our free will—a lifting up of man to something nearer the state of Angels. It would have been a great gain to the enemies of baptismal grace, to have the chance of drawing people's attention to this preliminary part of the argument, away from the plain, familiar, unhesitating declarations of the Prayer-book and our great Divines, concerning the positive and most certain *blessings*, which the Sacrament of the New Birth brings with it to those who put no bar in their own way. Well do they know this, who have tried at any time, on a smaller scale, in meetings, for example, of Rural Deaneries, to reconcile the hearts of their brethren, and rectify their misconceptions, by "beginning from the beginning"—stating completely the whole Catholic Doctrine of Baptism. Those who are disputatious find so many preliminary difficulties, that the whole discussion evaporates, as it were, before we can approach the real issue.

For reasons like these, we are glad and thankful that the Exeter Clergy took up the doctrine at the exact point where they did,—waiving any statement of the spiritual result of Baptism where a bar is interposed, and coming at once to that which is practical, that which comes home to our own case, among whom, by God's mercy, Infant Baptism is as yet the rule, Adult Baptism the rare exception.

To prevent mistakes we will here take notice, that whereas we have stated above that there is not an entire *Consensus Patrum* in the Augustinian—which is also the Schoolmen's—doctrine, of the effect of Baptism on the unworthy recipient, the variance does not arise from any doubt in any of the Fathers as to the supernatural power of the Sacrament; all are agreed, that where it may be

had, it is *the* way of Christ for uniting us to Himself: but while the majority, with S. Augustine, encourage us to hope that even hypocritical receivers may by-and-by have the full blessing of the Sacrament, if their hypocrisy give way to true Penitence,—like a sealed vessel plunged in the deep ocean, into which, should the seal be broken, the waters will presently find their way,—a few, with S. Cyril of Jerusalem, use such severe sayings as to make one apprehend that they considered the case hopeless, too near an approach to the sin against the Holy Ghost, to admit of any penitence, any comfort at all. An exaggerated view, no doubt; but such as to shew that if we, according to our profession as Anglicans, really follow the Fathers, we shall rather err on the side of over-stating than of disparaging the awfulness and greatness of the Sacraments.

We pass over Archdeacon Sinclair's criticisms, which may be safely left in the hands of the Bishop of Exeter. But a remark has been made in a far different quarter, which we can by no means pass over. It is complained that though the Synod may have sufficiently enunciated the true doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, it has failed altogether in that which, under the circumstances, is the main point,—it has not borne the witness which was required and expected from it, to the *necessity* of believing that doctrine. It has declared the right faith, but has not enforced it as fundamental; as if (so we have seen the case stated) it had been proposed at Nice that Athanasius and his friends should affirm the Creed in their sense, Arius and his friends in theirs, and that both should go on as members of the Church,—this (it has been alleged) would be parallel to the proceedings at Exeter.

Now, this complaint may mean either that the Bishop and his Clergy have not in terms affirmed their doctrine to be not only true, but essential: or it may mean that they have not followed up their affirmation with an Anathema. The former would be an error in doctrine, the latter in discipline.

But really, in regard of the former complaint, we are

at a loss to understand how any one, diligently or even cursorily reading the Synodical statements, could bring such a charge against them. Surely, what men say they hold "of faith,"—as part of their Baptismal Creed,—that they profess themselves to account necessary and fundamental. If we accept the Exeter Declaration, we are not more pledged to the necessity of believing in One God, than to that of believing in Baptismal Regeneration. This is so evident, that we must understand the other point—the absence of an Anathema—to be the true and sole ground of the complaint. And this we hope to discuss presently, when we come to enquire whether the Synod has done anything for us in respect of Communion with heretics.

But we should be doing them injustice if we dismissed the topic of doctrine without inviting our reader's particular attention to the *wording* of this part of the document. The expressions appear to us to be chosen with great care, and if well considered, to be very instructive, and such as may help many persons to regard the whole subject in a broader and truer light than as yet they have been accustomed to. The Synod holds of faith, that all persons duly baptized, and not putting a bar in their own way, "are not only baptized *once for all*, but are also baptized *with the one true Baptism* of Him Who baptizeth with the Holy Ghost." Thus speaking, it points out that the leading idea in the Apostolical phrase, "One Baptism," is not simply that each person can be baptized only once, as the Judicial Committee and Archdeacon Sinclair suppose, the one with excusable, the other (we had almost said) with inexcusable, shallowness:—but it is this, that Baptism is one and the same gift to all; the same form, the same matter, the same Spirit, the same Baptizer; for whoever be the outward and visible instrument, it is Jesus Christ alone who baptizeth with the Holy Ghost. This is S. Augustine's great topic, which he urges continually and triumphantly against the Donatists; and this is why that dangerous sect was not only in error, but in heresy, namely, because they denied the proper *Oneness* of Chris-

tian Baptism, maintaining in effect that each one who ministered in the Sacrament was a separate baptizer, and had his own Baptism; for this was implied in their notion that the Baptism of wicked ministers is no Baptism. The Creed, therefore, by acknowledging One Baptism condemns the Donatists, as it condemns the Pelagians by declaring that one Baptism to be for the remission of sins; which saying, as the Synod of Exeter has pointed out, in words borrowed from a far more ancient Synod, that of Carthage in 418, would be made false and unreal, if original sin be not remitted in Infant Baptism. It is true, the error condemned at Carthage was not the very same with that disowned at Exeter: Pelagius's point being, that infants had no original sin to be forgiven; Mr. Gorham's, that it could not be forgiven in Baptism: but the ground on which the former was condemned, viz. its making the form, "*For* the remission of sins," unreal, evidently belongs just as much to the latter. And it is very curious, that the other section of those who feel and act with Mr. Gorham—whereof Mr. Goode appears to be the most prominent living champion—is even more exposed than Mr. Gorham to the censure passed on those ancient heresies; for Mr. Goode, we believe, makes the grace of Infant Baptism to depend on the acceptable prayers of those who present the child, or of the minister, or others interested: so far, with Donatus, denying the Sacrament where the minister is unworthy: so far, again, with Pelagius, unscripturally limiting the free grace of God by something dependent on human exertions.

There seems to be something peculiarly instructive and consoling, yet full of significant warning, in this providential adaptation of the old formulæ of condemnation to our unhappy modern heresies: for we may call them "heresies," since they contradict the Creed, though we would be far from calling all their maintainers "heretics," since there are so many who have never had due admonition.

Thus much for the doctrinal *substance* of these Synodical statements. As to the manner of them, it seems to us

particularly happy in a sort of charitable skill, shewn in the drawing up of the statements, and in the words of caution which accompany them. For example, what a beautiful piece of mosaic (so we have heard it called) is that wherein the whole chain of baptismal privileges, specified in the Catechism, is shewn to be suspended on the "One Baptism for the remission of sins." "Mosaic" was the word, because of the dexterous yet reverential assemblage of texts, all converging to the same point.

'"We hold, as implied in the aforesaid Article of the Creed, all the great graces ascribed to Baptism in our Catechism.—For, 'by one Spirit we are all baptized into one body,' even the Body of Jesus Christ; we are made to be 'His Body,' 'Members in particular' of His Body, 'MEMBERS OF CHRIST.' And being thus 'Baptized into Him, we were baptized into His death,' Who 'died for our sins,'—we are 'dead with Him'—'dead unto sin'—'buried with Him in Baptism, wherein also we are risen with Him,' 'quickened together with Him,'—'made to sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus;'—'our life is hid with Christ in God.'—Believing that the Holy Ghost so joins us in Baptism to Jesus Christ, that we are 'in Him,' 'created in Christ Jesus,' believe also that we are CHILDREN OF GOD in Him; and 'if children, then heirs, heirs of God, and joint-heirs with Christ,' INHERITORS OF THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN."

This orderly and thoughtful interweaving of the words of Scripture is one among many things in these Acts which remind one of the old sacred Synods, in whose proceedings nothing is more noticeable than their care to establish whatever they affirm, as of faith, by express words out of canonical Scripture: nothing more admirable than the wisdom and charity with which they select and apply those words. And we will observe, by the way, that this agreement in tone, between the elder and the recent bodies, came not of any formal set imitation, but of the same mind and temper, which we will call the true ecclesiastical instinct, animating both, unconsciously. Here is another reasonable ground of hope that this Synod, as well as those, was indeed "in Spiritu Sancto legitimè congregata." The absence of direct imitation is

evinced by certain omissions, which, on other grounds we might be tempted to regret. The Holy Gospels were not visibly and solemnly enthroned, as it were, in the midst of the assembly; the Nicene Creed was not recited; there were no acclamations but that one impressive Amen, by which the whole assembly responded to their Bishop's thankfulness to Him who had made them unanimous in declaring the Faith: and other instructive and touching rites might be mentioned, which a lover of antiquity might have longed for, as visibly linking these our modern doings to the days of Athanasius and Cyril. But in this, as in some other Church Services, no doubt, the very completeness of the æsthetic effect might have damaged more or less the reality of the proceedings.—The memory dwells with more satisfaction upon what was done, by a kind of instinct, analogous to the old ceremonial, than as if the several portions of it had been elaborately and carefully repeated: it is, of the two, by far the more trustworthy token of our identity with those with whom we most desire to be one.

By these and other tokens of reality, as well as by their large and reverential use of Scripture, we cannot but hope that the Synod will in due time obtain a favourable hearing from those, to whom it so particularly addresses its charitable explanations,—those many who, meaning to be sincere and earnest Churchmen, are scared away from Church doctrine through fear of some formalism or self-reliance, which they apprehend in the tenet of Sacramental Grace. What pains have been taken during these anxious months to find some mode of uniting with these good persons—to construct some *formula concordiæ* which we might all sign, and which might prove to the world that our differences are not, and have not been, so really vital and essential as some imagined; and how sadly these pains have failed hitherto—was known to many: but it was not so well known that the great body of those who are called High Churchmen sympathised entirely with those efforts: there might still be a kind of suspicion felt, that the proposers of the *formula* spoke only their own

private sentiments. Now this suspicion, of course, is effectually obviated by its appearing that the whole diocese of Exeter is of the same mind—is careful so to hold Baptismal Regeneration, as not to impair, but to deepen, its sense of the need and value of real Conversion. To this subject, in particular, attention was called in the Sermon at the opening of the Synod, and again by the preacher in his speech on the second day. In the Sermon, Mr. Hole considers, as we have already noticed, that the fears of those who had protested against the Synod sprang not from a heretical mind, but "from zeal and earnest feeling, and jealousy for truth and peace supposed to be in jeopardy."

"One word there is in our text, which you must have observed that I have passed by, but only that it might be the last spoken of, and leave its own sweet influence, fragrant as the incense from the golden altar, upon us all. 'Hold fast the form of sound words,' but, hold it, said S. Paul, 'in LOVE, which is in Christ Jesus.' Love, which draws us unto Him who was crucified for us, who is our Life and Hope,—Love, which binds us unto one another for His sake, in obedience to His word, as members together of His body, joint partakers of His Holy Spirit,—Love, which is the only healer of all breaches, without which, the eloquence of angels would be a tinkling cymbal;—faith that could move mountains, of no account;—nay, the giving even the body to the flames would be a bootless sacrifice. Let us draw near unto our Lord, in His own holy ordinance, and, having in remembrance His exceeding great love to us, let us with united fervent intercession, beseech Him to pour out upon His Church His Holy Spirit of light and love."

In accordance with these sentiments, the same earnest voice was heard again the next day, congratulating the Synod, that—

"in this Declaration we lay the foundations, and confirm them, of the doctrine of Baptismal Grace, but we take also occasion by God's blessing, to bind together the hearts of those who are separated from us, not in reality, but as we are assured, by misconception."

And again :—

"That they had not confined the Declaration to the elementary principles of Baptismal Regeneration ; but shewn an earnest wish to impress upon all Christians, that all these high doctrines of Baptismal Grace do not disparage the need of conversion and amendment to thousands and millions of our brethren."

And once more :—

"Let me allude to one great and important section of the Church of England. It is the firm belief in the minds of many, that if they to whom I allude did but apprehend that the true doctrine of Baptismal Grace does not exclude their great point, viz. the doctrine of Conversion, they would come in as one man, and all say, 'We are brethren together, and though there is a cloud that has separated us very lately, by God's mercy it will be cleared up.' Sometimes I have thought, I confess, that we were destined to die in that cloud, but I trust better things now."

Oh, why should the persons in question, full as they are, very many of them, of all amiable qualities, and ready, no doubt, to sacrifice all for their brethren,—why should they be so slow to accept this tender and loving challenge, offered to them not now by one or two whom they might hesitate to trust, but by an ancient and famous Church speaking synodically—the ministers of love fresh from the sacrament of love, uttering from the heart the words of love? Is it so very plain, that this is a kind of movement to be put down by joining with all manner of sectarians, with cold heartless politicians, nay, with open profligates, in petitions to Parliament, addresses to the Queen, placards on walls, and all the daring liberties of the press?

To speak only of the theological aspect of the case: surely it is high time for those among us who are jealous, religiously jealous, of the doctrine of Sacramental Grace, to consider calmly from what their jealousy arises. If, as we have been led to believe very generally of them, it was dread of formalism, dread of a low standard, surely the explanation now offered will at least be taken by them into respectful consideration. If that be denied, will they

not give reason to fear that a very different feeling, unknown to themselves, may lurk at the root of their scruples,—the feeling which made Naaman shrink from the waters of Jordan, and the Capernaites wonder how life should come by the flesh of the Son of Man: an unwillingness to acknowledge the Lord's working in instruments seemingly so weak and unworthy, and to the natural man so improbable? and will not the same feeling, carried a little further, bring doubts and disbelief on the Incarnation itself? and then we know what is written: "Every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is not of God: and this is that spirit of antichrist, whereof ye have heard that it should come: and even now already is it in the world." The histories of the foreign Protestants, and of our own Church during the last century, shew too clearly that warnings like this are in point; the real great struggle between faith and unbelief, in these our latter times, has all along turned upon this question, Is your watchword *Verbum Dei* or *Verbum Deus?* Are men to be saved by teaching of God's truth, affecting their minds as true and good philosophy might do; or by transformation and actual union with the Son of God, incarnate to this very end, that He might first give Himself for us, and afterwards give us Himself? All depends, in our present controversy, upon the answer to that one question. Those who deny Sacramental Grace, if consistent, must accept the former alternative; those who acknowledge it, are pledged to the latter.

Now God forbid that we should accuse Mr. Gorham, or Archdeacon Sinclair, or the religious persons who act with them, of consciously disparaging the doctrine of union with our Lord: but as they are constantly charging us with unintentional Romanism, so they must pardon us if we say of them that their principles, carried out, would in effect deny that doctrine; they would leave nothing supernatural, nothing miraculous, in the condition of a Christian man on earth: they would make the great Pentecostal gift nothing at all to ordinary Christians, ex-

cept in the way of evidence: they would reduce us, in all but knowledge, to the condition of "the heathen, the families of the countries," so that for us "to serve wood and stone," the world and the flesh, would be a light thing in comparison. This is the real drift of their teaching, as it acts, not upon a guarded and happy few, but upon the average sort of men, women, and children in our parishes; and the sad fruits of it will be more and more seen, as the doctrine of the Synod of Exeter, the doctrine of union with Christ through the Sacraments of His Church, is more and more discountenanced and put down. What the end will be, who can tell? but we humbly trust, that in the worst possible event—that of the two opposing tides, Protestantism after the fashion of the Judicial Committee, and Roman Catholicism with its impossible terms of Communion, sweeping over the whole land,—there will yet be an island of refuge, a remnant of the true Anglican Church, to which, in the great infidel reaction which is sure to ensue, our children, or our children's children, or our later posterity, as the case may be, will have the chance of resorting: and then will be known the full value of the Synod of Exeter and its doctrinal statements.

We may observe, moreover, that those statements have an use, and a very material one, over and above the special doctrine which they inculcate: they ground themselves on the Catholic authority, the authority of Scripture and of the Holy Universal Church; thereby tacitly, but very effectually, disclaiming for this our Church of England one of the worst scandals which the Gorham judgment had brought upon it—the imputation, namely, of having discarded Primitive Tradition as an index of sound doctrine. One of the most offensive circumstances in that singularly unhappy document was its omitting all mention of Catholic consent as a standard of orthodoxy; though it ostentatiously professed

"not to swerve from the old established rules of construction, nor to depart from the principles which have received the

sanction and approbation of the most learned persons in times past, as being, on the whole, the best calculated to determine the true meaning of the documents to be examined."

Was it not then, one naturally asks, "an old established rule of construction" in dealing with the formularies of the Church of England, that expressions otherwise doubtful should be so interpreted as the whole Church has always interpreted them? What then becomes of the saying, "The Church has authority in controversies of faith?" What of the enactment in the Act of Submission, That the then existing Canons, not repugnant to law or prerogative, should continue in force "till otherwise ordered or determined" by a certain authority which has never yet ordered and determined them? What of the principle which has received "the sanction of the most learned persons" among us from Queen Elizabeth downwards, "Nothing to be taught to be religiously held and believed by the people, but what is agreeable to the doctrine of the Old and New Testament, and collected out of that very doctrine by the Catholic Fathers and ancient Bishops?" It will be a hard thing, we fear, to persuade the law-students of other generations, who shall cast their eyes over that famous Judgment, that all these authorities would have just gone for nothing, would have been ignored as giving no help to the interpretation of formularies supposed ambiguous, if it had been felt that they told in the opposite direction—that they encouraged the latitude which somehow found favour in that day. However, ignored they were altogether, and the very principle of Primitive Tradition with them: and the whole matter treated as if the Gospel had been first preached here by Henry VIII. in or about 1536. Certainly it was and is most extremely scandalous, and we have unhappily too good reason to believe, that one of the greatest losses, humanly speaking, which the Church of England has had to sustain in consequence of that very discreditable decision, was due in no small measure

to this particular circumstance—the absolute omission of all reference to Church authority and Catholic tradition. Now this scandal is *pro tanto* abated by the Exeter Declaration. We praised that document just now for its skilful and reverent way of pleading the words of Holy Scripture: we would here express our thankfulness for the deference paid in it to sacred antiquity.

The general doctrine, in the first place, is affirmed, as it is authoritatively set forth in the Nicene Creed by the Second Œcumenical Council, has since been held by the Catholic Church in all ages, and is taught unequivocally by our own Church in its authorized formularies. Then, both the special application of the doctrine to the case of Infant Baptism, and the repudiation of the special error opposed to it, are guarded by references to antiquity as well as to our own Prayer-book: and in the latter case the reference to antiquity, though tacit, is exceedingly important. The hypothetical imparting of grace in Baptism is there disallowed, on the ground that "in cases in which the conditions do not take place, both the form of Baptism itself, and the article, One Baptism for the remission of sins, must be understood not as true, but as false and unreal." Now most of our readers will know, but some may not, that this latter clause is a tacit reference to antiquity; not, however, to any single Father, not even to S. Augustine himself, but to an ancient Council, in which S. Augustine was present. This Council was held in the year 418, thirty-seven years after the great Council of Constantinople; by which time the additions made by that Council to the Creed had been received and were thoroughly well-known in the extreme West. The history of the Council is remarkable, and very much to the purpose in these our times, in more respects than one. The heresy of Pelagius, which consisted, as every one knows, in the denial of Original Sin, and of the entire helplessness of nature without grace, was just then making way, and had received a certain degree of countenance from the

Bishops of Palestine. The African Bishops, whose rule it was to hold yearly a Provincial Synod at Carthage, took up the cause, being invited to do so by a letter from S. Jerome to S. Augustine, and moreover feeling themselves especially interested, because Cœlestius, Pelagius' most active supporter, had been a candidate for the priesthood among them, and there had first incurred censure for his heresy. They decreed accordingly an anathema against both Pelagius and Cœlestius, and communicated it to the Pope of that time, S. Innocent, first of the name, a very wise and energetic person, from whom they met with full concurrence; for he suspended both heretics from the ministry and from communion, until they should have made full retractation. This passed in the years 416, 417; and soon after, S. Augustine obtained a copy of the Acts of the Synod in Palestine, which had seemed to favour Pelagius, and found to his great relief, that, as he before had hoped, that Synod, though it had acquitted the person of Pelagius, had clearly condemned his errors. But by the time the African Bishops had assembled for their annual Synod, in the following year, the face of things had materially altered. S. Innocent had died, and Zosimus, a far inferior person, was Pope in his place; with whom Cœlestius in person, Pelagius by writing, had so far prevailed as to obtain letters from him to the African Bishops, blaming them somewhat rudely for what they had done, and implying of course that his predecessor had erred in judgment, at least as to the persons, if not as to the doctrine. These letters arrived about the first of May, when the African Bishops were assembling: but it does not appear that their proceedings were much affected by them. They promulgated in full Council eight or nine Canons against this new heresy, which were presently confirmed by the Pope, (who saw fit now to change his mind,) and received throughout the Christian world. The second of those Canons it is, to which the Synod of Exeter refers, as it had before been repeatedly referred to in this controversy.

"The Council of Carthage," (says Mr. Hole, p. 20,) "strikes with its anathema such as said, 'that infants were to be baptized for the remission of sins, yet derived no sin from Adam, to be cleared by the Laver of Regeneration; whence it would follow, that in their case, "forma baptismatis in remissionem peccatorum, non vera, sed falsa intelligatur."' For, say the 214 Bishops then assembled, referring to the Apostle's words, (Rom. v.) 'they must be understood in no other sense than that in which the Catholic Church, spread over all the world, has understood them: *propter enim hanc regulam fidei, etiam parvuli, qui nihil peccatorum in semetipsis adhuc committere potuerunt, ideo in peccatorum remissionem* veraciter *baptizantur, ut in eis regeneratione mundetur, quod generatione traxerunt.*'"

Evidently the principle, or major premiss, on which the Council proceeded, is this, "Whatever doctrine implies the unreality of a Sacrament duly administered, is heretical:" and no less evidently does this description apply to the theory of Mr. Gorham, and to all other theories, which make the virtue of the sacrament depend on any tacit hypothesis. If Pelagius contradicted the Creed, and therefore incurred censure, because he said, Infants having as yet no sin could not be truly baptized for the forgiveness of sins, surely these modern teachers contradict it no less, who though they acknowledge original sin deny that it is remitted in Baptism. If it be objected, that the framers of the Creed were not thinking of this modern tenet, because it was not yet invented; neither were the Fathers at Constantinople thinking of the tenet of Pelagius, which did not arise until full twenty years after: yet S. Augustine and the whole Church had no hesitation in grounding their censure of Pelagius on the words of the Creed of Constantinople, which they saw was providentially so framed as to include his error.

We know not how others feel, but to us there is an unspeakable satisfaction in being thus permitted occasionally to trace in Church history, as in Scripture, the mysterious bearings of one event on another, the unimaginable relations of things afar off:—

"Oh that I knew how all thy lights combine,
And the configurations of their glory,
Seeing not only how each verse doth shine,
But all the constellations of the story:
This verse marks that, and both do make a motion
Unto a third, that ten leaves off doth lie;
Then, as dispersèd herbs do watch a potion,
These three make up some Christian's destiny:"

or, as we may well read it, "some *Church's* destiny." Who knows but that on the labours and prayers of S. Augustine and his brethren at Carthage, in 418, might depend the destinies of this our English Church now, in 1851, and in the years that may follow? The African Church has disappeared; the English Church, in God's inscrutable Providence, may be doomed to disappear also; and yet, by His mercy, the doings and sufferings of those who are faithful in their generation will not be lost. At some unthought-of interval their effects will re-appear, like stars that seemed to be extinguished. Happen what may, we dare not, and, by God's help, we will not despond.

And here, where our watchword, so to speak, is *veraciter:* (for in this whole controversy Reality—the "truthfulness" of the Church, as Mr. Hole happily expresses it,—was clearly the one idea which was uppermost in S. Augustine's mind, occurring continually in his exhortations and arguments, and made, as we have seen, by his instrumentality, most prominent in the Church's decision on the subject:)—something may not improperly be added, of the solid, real, English *tone* of the doctrinal formula adopted at Exeter: how, by its historical reference, the Synod indirectly justifies and explains its own subsequent appeal to an Œcumenical Council: what true and strong practical grounds it alleges for the earnestness with which the question has been taken up. For if the tenet of sacramental renewal have indeed the bearing here affirmed on conversion and amendment—and certainly it seems *prima facie* but plain common sense to say, "Baptismal grace binds us to do that which it enables us to do,"—then it is felt at once how SOULS are concerned in this matter; how

that our earnest anxieties and contentions, our long-continued grief and fear, our wistful looks turned hither and thither for aid, the alarms we have sounded, and our combinations more or less irregular—all these come not of jealousy concerning clerical prerogatives, nor of a longing to complete and round off an ecclesiastical theory, nor even of tenderness concerning any single point of Gospel truth, separately considered ; but really and truly of a wish to save our own souls and the souls of our people,—a fear lest the great things which God Incarnate has done for us, and in us, should fail for want of due appreciation on our part. And yet men talk of "nicety of dogma," and "scholastic subtilties!" as if the simplest old man in a country hamlet, or even a tolerably instructed child in the second class of a Sunday School, could not plainly see the difference between a system which merely teaches, and one which enables while it teaches ; between saying, "Repent, for you have sinned against grace ;" and, "Poor creature, you are yet as the heathen!" We really cannot imagine what sort of pastoral experience theirs must be, who, having to deal with death-beds, and with the inner life of sinners, penitent or impenitent, can bring themselves to treat the doctrine of baptismal grace as "soul-destroying," or damaging to consciences. Never yet have we ourselves met with any one able and willing to answer a challenge on that point, any more than Archbishop Sumner has answered the appeal of Bishop Philpotts :—

"My Lord, I have been permitted to attain to years beyond the ordinary term of man's life, and your Grace is not, I believe, far short of it. Both of us have, during many of our past years, been engaged in the pastoral charge of populous parishes. Now, I solemnly aver that, during the whole of that time, during all my intercourse with any portion of my own people, or others, among the many beds of sickness and death by which I have stood, endeavouring, however inadequately, to instruct the ignorant, to awaken the indifferent — aye, and to restrain the confident, I never met with a single instance of that 'fallacious security' in the regeneration of Baptism, which your Grace deems so likely to 'lull' the sinner, and make him heedless whether 'he have

really those marks which accompany a new creature.' Of that heedlessness, too many were the instances I met with, but *not one* proceeding from the abuse of the doctrine of Baptism. Will your Grace forgive my asking, whether your experience has been materially different?"

We should be disposed to extend this challenge a little further, and call upon our earnest brethren to state frankly *and considerately* whether they have not usually found men's moral corruption *positively enhanced*, and their sense of it, when they *did* begin to feel, deadened and impaired, by inadequate apprehension of the mercy and aid which they had been resisting; whether, in short, the great stumbling-block has not been such a feeling as we once heard expressed by a conceited half-puritan father, when his attention was called to the fact that his sons were notorious liars. "Ah, sir," he said, "we have not all the same grace;" and with that deep theological sentiment the matter was dismissed, and the poor boys left to lie or tell truth as they pleased.

This sort of sentiment is so common—so familiar, alas! in one shape or another, to almost every man's own conscience—that it requires some thought to perceive the atrocity of it, and how, at the bottom, it tends to the denial of the very first principle of natural religion, God's moral government; it is, in fact, "thinking wickedly, that He is even such an one as ourselves." But, its wrongness being once discerned, the very frequency of it makes one feel how necessary it is that the Church should be earnest and unceasing in her denunciations of it. It is no extravagance of dogma, it is plain common sense, to speak as she has lately done at Exeter. And the plain common sense of the proceeding, rightly understood, gives perhaps the best chance of its eventually commanding the assent of our people, generally quick in detecting shams and incongruities, and proud, in a way, to patronise what is downright and straightforward.

For this, among other reasons, it is matter of thankfulness that the Declaration of doctrine has referred so pointedly to the Catechism, and brought out so clearly the fact,

that its statements concerning Baptism are but the development of the formula in the Creed. It will take, we imagine, a good deal of time and trouble, and more subtilty than even the most eminent of our crown lawyers possess, to satisfy our honest labourers, and tradesmen, and farmers, either that the Catechism does not contain the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, or that, being in the Catechism, and therefore necessary to Confirmation, it is not made a necessary point of faith by the English Church; unless, indeed, there be some great virtue for teaching them otherwise in the term "instructional," which we observe is used by the Judicial Committee as a choice term to designate the office, which they suppose to belong to the Catechism in the system of the Prayer-book. "There are parts," they say, of that book, "which are strictly dogmatical, declaring what is to be believed or not doubted;" (the very sound of the words recalls to the memory the "Doubt ye not, therefore, but earnestly believe" of the Baptismal Office, which yet, according to them, is not dogmatical;) "*parts which are instructional*, and parts which consist of devotional exercises and services." Now, we should like well to be informed by either of the distinguished masters of language, who are responsible for the English as well as for the law of that document, What particular force they attribute to the word "instructional," (which no doubt they had authority from Her Majesty to coin for the occasion,) whereby it may be distinguished from the word "dogmatical" in the way which their argument requires? Their own interpretation of "dogmatical" is, "declaring what is to be believed or not doubted." "Instructional," it seems, is not the same as "dogmatical;" yet "instructions," in the common usage of the word, "declare" something or other to the person instructed; they declare to him what the instructor would have him do, and sometimes, also, what he would have him believe; as in a certain "instruction" familiar to most of us, "appointed to be learned by all persons" in the Church of England "before they be confirmed by the Bishop." Are we then to understand that "instructional,"

in respect of doctrine, as distinguished from "dogmatical," is "declaring something which *need not* be believed, and *may* be doubted?" It might seem so, for then we should be able to account for the fact, that this member of their Lordships' division, Instructional, disappears altogether from their subsequent reasoning; as well it may, if it means no more than has been said. It was very well to pass so lightly over the Catechism, being an instruction, if instruction means only teaching people to affirm propositions which they need not believe, and may doubt. But, in the more usual sense of the word instruction—directing persons what to believe, as well as what to do—we are at a loss to know what difference their Lordships make between "instructional" and "dogmatical," and why the "charitable construction," which they say "the whole Catechism requires," might not as well extend to the Articles, or any other sayings which they *do* please to call "dogmatical;" so that, if some Article had said expressly, "Infants are regenerated in Baptism, one and all," they might still have settled the matter as they have done, just as creditably to themselves, and with just as little violence to the documents they were interpreting.

It would appear that in setting down the division, "dogmatical, instructional, devotional," the learned Committee had the Catechism in their minds, and meant, we may suppose, to treat of it in some distinct way. But what they really have done is this: they have proceeded on that division to a somewhat elaborate exposition of the distinction between "devotional" and "dogmatical" assertions; the sum of which is, that we must speak exact truth when we are only teaching men, but we need not speak exact truth when we are offering solemn prayers and services to God;—and then they have proceeded to apply this distinction to the Catechism, as if *that* were a "devotional" part of the Prayer-book: whereas their own statement surely required that they should apply themselves also to their other term "instructional," and make out *why* "the whole Catechism" should "require a charitable construction," any more than the Articles or Rubrics.

We fear that there is lurking at the root of all this a serious error concerning the main end of Church Services; an error implied in the explanation which the Committee gives of the word "devotional," so critical a word in their use of it. They seem to say, quoting the Act of Parliament which authorized King Edward's second Book, "Devotional" means "framed *for the purpose of* being 'more earnest, and fit to stir Christian people to the due honouring of Almighty God.'" That is to say, the chief thing in prayer is the effect on the people's minds; not so much the obtaining at God's hand blessings temporal and eternal, for which He has commanded us to offer Him our prayers, as a sort of sacrifice. And then, certain deviations from the truth, supposing them likely to produce the desired effect on the people's minds, are not, in their opinion, unworthy of the Church. The Church, they think, in her solemn prayers, is so far like a popular orator, debater, or advocate, having a certain liberty to represent things otherwise than they really are, if that course appear on the whole most conducive to the good of the people. Somewhat like this, not consciously, but by a sort of instinct, must have been in the Judges' minds, when they framed their argument from the meaning of the word "devotional."

We do not, of course, charge them with dishonesty or profaneness—they were but applying trains of thought usual with them to that particular subject; but we desiderate here that high and almost chivalrous attachment to truth at all risks, which has usually been the proud characteristic of English judges: we cannot but suspect that their anxiety for what they thought the peace and welfare of the country was allowed to encroach on their dutifulness to the law, which they were pledged to administer; and this is no extravagant suspicion, since that very principle was avowed with startling earnestness and intrepidity by one, with whom they cannot think it an affront to be compared, in the case of Dr. Hampden. At all events, it is refreshing to contrast with these dry and toilsome subtilties, so like the demeanour of those who are

arguing for a foregone conclusion, the tone and substance of the Exeter Declaration, and to feel sure that no plain unbiassed person, who has learned his Catechism, can doubt which to prefer as a guide to the meaning of that portion, at least, of the Prayer-book. He will perceive at once that the Synod and the Catechism are, as it were, on the best and frankest terms of mutual understanding: whereas the Judicial Committee is plainly uneasy in the presence of the Catechism, glad to cut short all conference, and to part company as quickly as possible.

So much as to what the Synod has done for us in regard of the matter most immediately pressing, the doctrine of Baptismal grace. The other article of the Faith on which we are anxious—perhaps we might be reasonably even more anxious—is that of the One Catholic and Apostolic Church, impugned in many ways, but now more especially by the notions of the Royal Supremacy, which are being avowed and encouraged by religionists and politicians of so many different shades. It is impugned, particularly, in respect of the word Apostolic. That word in antiquity was always held to imply, that the Church should be tied to the Apostles by the constant succession of her bishops, and should be governed by them, as by the Apostles, in matters of doctrine and spiritual discipline. This was always understood to be contained in the saying, "As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you;" Christ's regal power, in spirituals, as well as His sacerdotal and prophetical, being thereby delegated, so far as it was to be visibly exercised, to the Twelve, and to those whom they should delegate, even until the end of the world. And this idea was acknowledged and re-affirmed, as able reasoners have recently proved afresh, by the Church and Realm of England in the year 1532, in the preamble to the Act for the restraint of Appeals to Rome; wherein are recognised, first, the distinction of spiritualty and temporalty, and then the power "of that part of the body politic, called the spiritualty, now being usually called the English Church, to declare, interpret, and shew any cause of the law divine, or of spiritual learning." This, we say, ad-

verting to the received meaning of the terms employed at that time, cannot reasonably be understood in any other sense, than as admitting the claim of the Bishops and Clergy to declare with authority in spiritual matters, as of the temporal judges in temporal matters; the supreme authority of course reserving to itself a controlling power, to see that no injustice be done, by the encroachment of the one jurisdiction on the other; and *that* in virtue of those other words of our Lord, "By Me kings reign, and princes decree justice." And in this arrangement we see no more of what is called *imperium in imperio*, in any wrong or impossible sense, than in the distinct incommunicable prerogatives of King, Lords, and Commons under the constitution of England, which also may easily be proved incompatible in theory, but in practice are thought to answer (humanly speaking) well enough. This and no other, is the idea of the Supremacy, which the Church and Realm of England has solemnly received, and to which her bishops and priests stand pledged by their awful ordination vows. The encroachments which have been made at various times since, by Act of Parliament or otherwise, have never been received by the Church; and however we may think it our duty in matters not absolutely vital to submit to them, it is no part of our oath to do so; but it is, as we conceive, part of our oath to refuse submission when vital matters are touched.

This is our view: but the view which now seems to find favour with the majority in Parliament, and perhaps of the ten-pound voters, is that which claims nominally for the Queen, but really for the said majority, acting through Lord John Russell, or any one else whom they may choose to set up, the absolute prerogative of determining what shall be taught in our Churches as true doctrine, what proscribed as heresy. They are not content with the power of appointing bishops who may do this work for them; they claim to do it less indirectly, by sentence of lay judges appointed by the Minister of the day. It is all very well for Lord Lansdowne, Lord Campbell, and the rest, to disavow the right of deciding on doctrine; but

they disclosed their real thoughts on the matter, by exclaiming in the same breath against the extravagance of giving the Bishops the same jurisdiction which the Privy Council now has, *because it would put the doctrine of the Church under their control.* In lay hands it was nothing; in episcopal hands it would be a complete inquisition.

It ought not, we think, to be accounted invidious, if we quote the sentiments of the present Dean of Bristol, as containing in substance the opinions and aspirations of the so-called advocates of the Supremacy at this time. Dean Elliot's theory of the Supremacy, and account of the English Reformation, is this :—

"Attempt is being made to persuade you that God has appointed a visible Church, with a prescribed polity, power, and authority, and that this Church ought to be received of men, because of this appointment of God; and that the Church which the people of England have established is that Church; and that the people of England did establish that Church, because they believed it to be the one which God had appointed.

"But this is not so. The community of England does not recognise, in the details of any existing Church whatever, specific institution or ordinance of God. It denies that any Church of peculiar polity or power is authorized by God to demand its establishment or recognition. And when the community of England framed its Church, it both asserted its own right to do so, and denied the claim of any visible form of Church as being divinely instituted. . . . .

"No notion is more false or foolish than that which would devolve to (*sic*) the Clergy the duty of either framing what should be the formularies of faith in any Church, or of interpreting them [o]."

And in a panegyric on some whom he does not name, of "the greatest men of England," he praises them for "acknowledging no authority, either of office *or of doctrine*, but what the people in their assemblies conferred or sanctioned [p]."

This is the modern theory of the Supremacy. This is the interpretation of the One Catholic and Apostolic Church,

[o] Preface to Sermons, pp. xxiii., xxiv. [p] p. xxii.

which, judging by a certain affectionate correspondence lately published [q], wins special confidence in those places where the Exeter Synod is most unpopular.

Now although these exaggerated notions of the Supremacy were not expressly brought before that Synod, its proceedings are, in fact, a strong virtual assertion of primitive truth in that respect.

We will briefly set down a few important propositions, to which we suppose that all whose names are on record as members of that Synod, and all who shall hereafter assent to its acts, will have committed themselves.

1. *It is, in some sense, a special right and duty of the Bishops and Clergy of the Church, to consult and pronounce touching questions of doctrine.* This is implied in the very fact of the Synod's meeting to declare the doctrine of Baptism.

2. *They are not precluded, here in England, from pronouncing a decision on a point of doctrine contradictory to one virtually pronounced by the Queen in Council.* For they have declared it to be "of Faith," i.e. necessary to be believed, that all infants are regenerated in Baptism: whereas her Majesty in Council has ruled, that it is not against the Faith of the English Church to say, that "in no case is regeneration in Baptism unconditional."

On this point, we may say in passing, we are constrained to differ from that distinguished Layman, who has so ably and dutifully endeavoured to mitigate the scandal of the Gorham judgment, in his two unpublished "Letters to the Bishop of Exeter;" we are constrained to differ from his view of the harmlessness (not of Mr. Gorham's own opinions, but) of those attributed to him by the learned Committee. One of those opinions is that just quoted,—that "in no case is regeneration in Baptism unconditional;" the sting of which proposition the Layman in his first Letter [r], endeavours to take out, by alleging that an orthodox person might affirm it, meaning the condition to be that of worthy reception, and

[q] Between the Dean of Bristol and the Plymouth Reformers of the Prayer-book.

[r] p. 9.

holding that all infants are worthy recipients. But, with submission, we can hardly imagine such a construction being put on those words: and for this reason, that they form in the Judgment, more clearly than as the Layman has quoted them, a qualification or exception to the former sentence, "Infants baptized and dying before actual sin are certainly saved: *but* in no case is regeneration in Baptism unconditional." "In no case:" not even in the case of infants. There must be something besides being an infant, and baptized, to make their regeneration sure. We do not see how it is possible to evade this construction; and this being so, we are compelled, though with hesitation, and, for many reasons, against our will, to decline the relief which this criticism might afford us.

In another part, again, of Mr. Gorham's statement as warranted innocent by the Privy Council, the same high authority seems to us to have exceeded in candour. The Judgment represents Mr. Gorham as saying that "*the* grace," i.e. manifestly the grace of regeneration, which had been mentioned just before, "may be granted before, in, or after Baptism:" and the Layman, to justify this, produces passages, which prove only that "grace"—not *the* grace, but *some* grace—may be given before, as of course it may after Baptism.

We venture on these few remarks, not, we trust, in any captious spirit; but it seems to us better on every account to look our difficulties fully in the face, and not to take up with solutions, sufficient, perhaps, so far as those difficulties are technical, but in no degree touching the real grief of our case. With great respect, we will own that we felt a scruple of this kind on one passage of the very thoughtful Sermon which preceded the opening of the Synod.

"In entering," says Mr. Hole, "on the consideration of the one point which I am submitting to you to-day, we shall not, I trust, 'present an example of resistance to a solemn adjudication of the law unbecoming our position as ministers of religion;' for upon that one point (I humbly state it as my conviction)

the law has not spoken,—as indeed, it being a matter of Faith, it was not competent to speak, having, 'in controversies of the Faith, no authority.' Upon that one point, no solemn adjudication has been made. It was pressed, indeed, in the pleadings, but passed by, wholly unnoticed, in the judgment given. It is a matter of theological correctness or error of doctrine, upon which the Judges of the Appellate Court expressly refrained from pronouncing an opinion[a]."

We are a little jealous of something unreal here. Surely the Judgment, how guarded soever in manner, *does* in substance touch the faith—touches it in that very point, of which the accomplished preacher is speaking, and therefore, though not in terms, yet in substance, the Judgment is contradicted, and so far resisted, by the Declaration of the Synod. It is a case of "speaking of God's testimonies even before Kings." It is a case in which Cæsar has been (more or less, we verily believe, unawares) taking to himself the things of God, and the Synod has interfered, to claim them back for God. Happily there is as yet no law of the land to check what the Synod has done; but had there been such a law, the Synod's duty would have been to do in substance just the same, for the law cannot supersede their ordination vows. The gentlemen who are crying out so loudly about violation of the law, infringement of the Prerogative, breach of the Oath of Supremacy, and the rest of it, know this very well, and would act on it in their own case. If there should ever be what they would call a Tractarian Sovereign and Ministry, and the Court of Appeal were to lay down the law in favour of that school as now against them, on any point which they consider vital, would they still go on declaring it undutiful but to complain of that court? Would they not remonstrate and (if you will) agitate, and say plainly, We ought to obey God rather than man? We have by far too good an opinion of their earnestness to doubt that this is the line which they would take.

We wish them a speedy probation on this matter, feel-

[a] pp. 14, 15.

ing confident that they will so act as to justify us in our present modified resistance. We wish it, as for other reasons, so especially because then, humanly speaking, we should be sure of obtaining a re-adjustment of our law of appeal in matters of doctrine. It has been said, with more point than good-nature, that we should have heard no complaints of the constitution of the Judicial Committee, if it had given sentence against Mr. Gorham. The suspicion is a very natural one, but it is contradicted by facts. Before the decision had taken place, and at a time when there was much hope that it would affirm that of the Court below, the persons, or many of them, who signed the Resolutions of March 1850, had had one or two anxious meetings, and were beginning to take measures for remonstrating against the composition of the Court; and the first Number of Mr. Keble's *brochure*, called "Church Matters in 1850," was published before the judgment, and argues about it as a complete uncertainty. These facts ought, as it seems to us, to satisfy persons that the objection to the Court is a real and serious objection, not a mere after-thought. But we are digressing too far.

3. The third proposition touching the Supremacy, to which the Exeter Synod may be said to have committed itself, is reducible perhaps to the following terms:—*The Bishop of Rome, by violation of sundry Canons of the first four Œcumenical Councils, has lost any claim to jurisdiction which he ever may have had in this realm.* On which subject are to be marked especially the exact references to the several Councils, quite in the manner of antiquity; and the care thereby taken to shew how much we make of Primitive Tradition,—how really and truly the cause of the English Church claims to be that of the Church of the Fathers.

4. A fourth proposition, less directly, yet really, implied in the Synod's Declaration against Rome, may be stated as follows:—*The degree of deference shewn to State authority by the first four Œcumenical Councils, or any of them, was not such as to cause them to forfeit their proper*

authority as Supreme Councils of the Church. A statement which may be found of no small use in times like ours, abounding in what we may call points of rude contact between the Church and the State.

5. The fifth and most important of all is,—*The true and only supreme authority, without appeal, in all matters of doctrine, and of discipline purely spiritual, is a free and lawful Synod of the whole Church, duly accepted by the Church Diffusive: and so long as such a Synod for any reason may not be had, the matters must continue in abeyance, and the parties virtually under appeal to it.* We cannot express the satisfaction it gave us, to find so considerable a portion of our Church taking up this special ground of Appeal to an Œcumenical Council, as in defence against Rome: the one proper ground, as we have long thought, on which we ought to consider ourselves standing: the chosen ground of our greatest divines of old—both of Cranmer and of Bramhall, both of Reformers and of Laudians: tenable ground also, be it observed, as against all other ecclesiastical usurpations, errors, heresies, violations of discipline; for all were intended to be "told to the Church," and to be corrected by the Church's use of the binding and loosing power which our Lord gave her for this very end: and what is the Church, in the last resort, but an Œcumenical Council, accepted by the great body of Christendom?

"But the thought is so Utopian, so visionary, so utterly unreal." Are you quite so sure of that? consider; you would have deemed it quite an Utopian scheme, some two or three years ago, had any one spoken of gathering but one of our Dioceses into a Synodical meeting, with such an approach to unity as has now been vouchsafed. And though the end may be to each one of us for ever so many generations afar off,—though it should not be in the Divine counsels to allow it ever to be realized on earth,—still the *moral* effect of seeking it in heart, wishing, praying for it continually; the effect on the edification of men, and the salvation of souls, may be

very great. Have we not often known of cases, in which a deep attachment to some object felt to be far out of reach, has yet had power to leaven, as it were, the whole heart and life of the person feeling it with an ennobling and purifying influence, and has made him capable of greater things than could otherwise have been expected of him? And again, there are minds so constituted that they cannot be at all happy in their position, without some theory to explain and justify it: and the notion of being under appeal may at least be welcome to some of them, as furnishing such a theory,—if not thoroughly established, yet so far probable as to enable them to work on quietly and thankfully, with a reasonable hope that they are in a safe way. At any rate, a high standard gives the best chance of a happy progress.

> "Sink not in spirit: who aimeth at the sky,
> Shoots higher much than he that means a tree."

But the great point is, that high or low, this is *the aim appointed for us*,—the divinely ordained way to doctrinal Truth and Unity. We must believe it, if we at all allow consenting Antiquity as an interpreter of Scripture.

Besides these propositions, which all tend more or less directly to the disavowal of spurious supremacies and assertion of the true, we should suppose that those adhering to the Exeter Synod must feel that they have publicly pledged themselves, in their several spheres, to banish and drive away that error especially which the Synod emphatically disowns;—to drive it away, not the less on account of the temporary encouragement which the present administration of the law gives to it. The Bishop, for example, has publicly declared, that come what may, he will not give cure of souls to persons deliberately maintaining Mr. Gorham's opinion: and without specifying, one may easily imagine cases, in which the other members of the Synod, and the clergymen and laymen who may adhere to it, may incur legal inconveniences by acting on the same principle. We consider, and we trust so do they, that they have pledged themselves to

incur such inconveniences if the occasion shall arise. But this is a matter which need only just be touched on. Each man's own conscience will tell him when the contemplated case shall have arisen; as also how to act on the more ordinary occasions of assisting to obtain cures, giving testimonials for Orders, accepting clerical help, and the like, from any one openly denying Baptismal Regeneration. If they put themselves out of the way,—submit now and then to some loss or embarrassment,—in order to keep up this charitable reserve, so much the more real and earnest will their testimony prove.

"But ought they not, ought not the Synod to have done far more? The ancient, accredited weapons of the Church were Anathemas; awful words, armed with heavenly authority, delivering to Satan, for the destruction of the flesh, those who were far gone in sin or heresy, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus. What is become of them all? Why are they not produced on such an occasion as this?"

Here the point is raised, which we have long since felt to be the chief real difficulty of our present position as English Catholics; our continued communion with persons whom we believe, and have openly declared to be, *materially*, in grave heresy. We do not wish to underrate or disguise its importance: to say no more of it, it looks very fearful by the side of the Apostolic words, "Receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed;" or by the side of those many sayings, in which discipline as well as doctrine is enumerated among the marks of the Church: for example, in our Homily for Whit-Sunday, "The true Church hath always three notes or marks whereby it is known; pure and sound doctrine, the Sacraments ministered according to Christ's holy institution, and the right use of ecclesiastical discipline." Compare this with the state of things in which we are now of a long time living,—not we in England only, but as the general current of history and testimony shows, the several portions of the Church everywhere,—and it would almost seem as if the Church had ceased, as if "His promise had

come utterly to an end for evermore." For be it observed, these sayings relate to other sins as much as to heresy, and the edge of them is by no means taken off by alleging, if in any case it may be truly alleged, Though other offences have been tolerated, sins against the faith, and false teaching, never have been so.

But the true answer to this miserable perplexity seems to be shortly this: that if the expressed and authorized theory of any Church sufficiently forbid sin and denounce heresy, and recognise the right and duty of visiting them with Church censures in the way ordained by our Lord, then the practical neglect of that theory, to whatever extent, must indeed be a grievous sin in those to whom it is due, but it does not, like denial of the faith or loss of the Sacraments, affect the very being of the Church. If this be granted—we have not now space to argue it—the case of the Synod of Exeter, and of those who sympathise with it, will be that of members of a community, from which they cannot separate themselves without sin, because by the hypothesis it is a real portion of Christ's body: but neither can they without sin admit the lawfulness of certain things which they see done within the community,—seeming, perhaps, to be done by it,—but contrary to its own acknowledged, fundamental laws. And having, as a Bishop of the Church with his Priests, the sword of excommunication in their hand, it was, we suppose, open to them, if they saw fit, to proceed by anathema against the offending parties. Perhaps, too, it was open to them to waive all personal censure, and only to anathematize, in general terms, all such as should obstinately hold the heretical doctrine which they were denouncing. Or, thirdly, it was open to them to do as they have now done: to declare the true doctrine, and the necessity of believing it, without promulgating any Church censure at all.

These courses, we will suppose, were all open to them by the law of the Church: but the first, at least if the party censured were a clergyman, would have been, as we imagine, clearly against the law of the land—i.e. against the Church Discipline Act, which allows no criminal pro-

ceeding against a Clerk in Holy Orders, for an offence against the laws ecclesiastical, in any ecclesiastical Court, otherwise than as the same Act provides. Then it would be at once a question of direct breach of the law. The person charged would of course demur to the jurisdiction, and refuse to appear; and the sentence, if passed, would be passed without hearing, as in contumacy. These circumstances (to mention no more) would greatly damage the moral effect of the sentence, and render it far less effectual than a sentence of excommunication ought to be in really separating the heretic from the society of the faithful.

Since, therefore, it was no inevitable duty for the Synod to proceed in that particular way, it ought not to be blamed for following the general principles laid down by S. Augustine about enforcement or relaxation of discipline —which are such as these :—

"In cases of grievous and manifold dissension, where it is not this or that man who is in peril, but whole communities lie in ruin, we must relax something of strict rule, that genuine charity may avail for the healing of the greater mischief[t]."

Again, speaking of the first Pelagians ;—

"There are more of this sort than one could expect, and when they are not exposed, they seduce others with them to their own sect, and multiply so that I cannot tell to what extent they may break out: however, we had rather they were healed within the body and frame of the Church, than be severed therefrom as limbs that cannot be healed; if only the exigency of the case allow it[u]."

This, it will be observed, was a case of heretical teaching.

Further: Augustine, writing to Emeritus, the Donatist Bishop of Cæsarea, of whom he had a high opinion, commends him for having borne with a very unworthy colleague, lest, if he had excommunicated that evil person, "he should have drawn away many after him, and made in your communion a rent of raging schism[x]." And the argument, by the way, is very remarkable, which S. Au-

[t] Ep. 185, § 44. [u] Ep. 157, § 22. [x] Ep. 87, § 4.

gustine goes on to employ against Donatism in general. That heresy, as is well known, considered the Church as having lost, not only its well-being, but its being, by an undue relaxation of discipline. And so they separated from the whole Catholic body, rather than communicate with certain unworthy persons, whom that body (very few of whom could possibly know their unworthiness) tolerated. S. Augustine therefore presses Emeritus with the question, If you Donatists thought it right to tolerate your scandalous colleague, saying that you had no official knowledge of his unworthiness, but in fact because you were afraid of making a schism in your own body, (so far we give the substance, not the words of S. Augustine,) "how much more is the world of Eastern Christians unaware of the character of those Africans, whom you, knowing less of them than you do of your colleague, condemn?" (He means that former generation of African Bishops, whom the Donatists supposed to have forfeited their orders by ill conduct.) "And yet," he goes on, "from those Churches you separate yourself by an ungodly dissension." You say, you had no sufficient knowledge of your near neighbour:—

"how then could the Churches of Corinth, Ephesus, Colossæ, Philippi, Thessalonica, Antioch, Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, and all the other portions of the world which the Apostles built up in Christ,— how was it either possible for them to know about these (so-called) African apostates, or right for you to condemn them, because they could not know of them? And yet you communicate not with those Churches, and deny them to be Christians, and endeavour to rebaptize them."

Methinks if he were now living, he might say to some who are now disturbing us,—"How is it possible for the generality of simple and poor persons in England, holding themselves by the plain sense of the Prayer-book, to be aware what heresy is taught, in charges, books, or sermons, or in letters to anonymous correspondents, contrary to the Prayer-book, by this or that Primate, Dean, or Vicar? and

not knowing it, how can their communicating with the teachers of it make them heretics? And yet you call upon us to separate from their communion, and treat them as if they were not Christians. What is rooting up the tares with the wheat, if this be not?"

We can very well imagine that considerations like these might occur to repress the earnest and no doubt natural feeling, which in such an assembly as that at Exeter might otherwise tempt many to cry out, "Lord, shall we smite with the sword?" and we cannot but think it right that the feeling, if it existed, was repressed.

The Synod, indeed, might have avoided some of these difficulties, by abstaining from censure of any particular persons, and simply adding an anathema to their doctrinal statements. For the members of it, individually, it might have been a less troublesome course at the time; but abroad, and afterwards, we can fancy its working even more injuriously. With most men the anathema would fall dead on the air, and be unnoticed, as a mere *brutum fulmen*—a most hurtful result, surely. But to persons instructed in the faith, who would respect it, it would not come unaccompanied with much perplexity and disturbance. They would be saying to themselves, "Now here is a sentence of the Church; of course we must act upon it, as occasion shall arise;" and so it would come to a case of each one determining for himself whose communion he should renounce,—which among the preachers whom he heard, or the acquaintance with whom he conversed, had made themselves subjects of the censure: and this would be no slight task, seeing that the one enquiry into Mr. Gorham's opinions, their real bearing, and the amount of mischief comprised in them, has occupied for so long a time so many well-informed and well-meaning disputants. Then we should have to find out exactly what "renouncing communion" is, and how far it ought to extend: whether it meant simply, declining to receive the Holy Eucharist where the obnoxious person was; or, (in addition,) if one were a priest, refusing to administer it to him; or withdrawing from holy services where he was present;

or avoiding him also in the common intercourse of life. And again, it would have to be settled, whether such withdrawal and separation should be confined to the person himself, or practised likewise towards all, who, being aware of the circumstances, went on in communion with him. Such matters as these, one must imagine, were ordered by some well-known rule, in the days when temporary renunciation of communion was the ordinary form of protest even among lay Christians—the mode by which they drew the attention of their superiors to heretical opinions or scandalous conduct. But now, after so long disuse;—now that the very idea has vanished, except that it is now and then thought of as a mere indulgence of strong feeling,—all would be as vague and disorderly as possible, no two persons going the same way to work; and the more conscientiousness, the greater, in some sort, the confusion. In short, it is by no means a position in which a discreet and charitable person would desire, if he could help it, to place any great number of the Christian people. Better for them by far, of the two, to be told, by express synodical or episcopal decree, from whom they must separate themselves, and how far, than to have to settle for themselves whom to treat as anathematised.

We may add, that the old renunciations of communion obviously had respect to the state of things at that time, when there was a fair chance of their compelling a settlement of the question, within a reasonable time, by a Synod of higher authority; nay, if need were, even by an Œcumenical Council. There might be something unreal in hastily resorting to the like measures now, when this, their proper object, is, humanly speaking, so very unlikely to be attained by them.

The whole process, it need hardly be remarked, would be made incomparably more delicate and questionable by the existence of the Roman Communion among us. Suppose any clergyman in Kent, last year, had thought it his duty to do as some did, when Nestorius preached heresy at Constantinople—to separate himself openly from his Diocesan's communion, until he should have set himself

right in regard of this virtual denial of the Creed: evidently such a person, if he had any wrong leaning towards Rome, would have been in the greater danger from such a step; and were he never so faithful to this Church, still the offence and alarm to others, for a time at least, would have been very great.

We do not mean by all these allegations to maintain that a case for individual renunciation of communion, or for Synodical anathema, might not very possibly arise, but to give some idea of the kind and amount of difficulty which it would surely bring with it; and we cannot help hoping that we shall carry with us the verdict of all, who are not fallen into a morbid way of finding fault, when we express our thankfulness that no anathema, either upon persons or doctrines, was pronounced at Exeter.

What was done, as it was real in itself—having all the warning force of an anathema, without the evils which would have attended on that mode of proceeding,—so it was well enough conformed to antiquity. For it is no new thing for Synods, and especially Synods of a lower rank, to put forth ἐκθέσεις—declarations of doctrine—without guarding them by anathema. The Synods of Carthage under S. Cyprian on the validity of heretical Baptism are instances, and so are many of the Synodical letters on doctrine continually occurring. The only real and practical reason, that we know of, for wishing for an anathema, is the temporal persecution which the anathema would be likely to bring after it, and from which, as it is, unfriendly observers may say that the Synod is unduly shrinking. But neither Scripture nor reason would warrant Christian Clergymen in wantonly provoking the world's ill usage, like raw young soldiers, for their own credit's sake.

After all, it is hard, very hard, for tender and anxious spirits, wincing and sore from the scorn and oppression of the time, not to feel some involuntary disappointment in the result of this Synod. In spite of themselves, the thought arises, "These are but *words*, and we wanted

something *done*." We can but earnestly press on them the duty of not losing patience, and beg them to consider again and again, whether the Appeal with which the Synod ends its first Declaration may not in fact prove by God's mercy to be a great thing done for us. For if it affirm our true position, the acceptance of it by so large a body of Clergy (not without great indications of sympathy in other quarters of no mean importance) is a fact; we trust a growing fact—growing in significance and usefulness, as more and more of our brethren, whether Clergy or laity, shall recognise it, and begin to shape their proceedings accordingly. Silently and instinctively the sense of it will produce more harmony, and more of what is called *point*, in our modes of promoting the Church's cause. We shall better know what we are about; we shall have something to measure our distances from. The position of an appellant is no unreal thing; it has very often to be taken by men and by communities, for years and generations together, in their temporal fortunes: nay, it has ever been, more or less, the position of the sounder part of the Christian Church, or rather of the Church itself, as against the alien powers which beset it, or have intruded on it.

We have been told, however, of late, upon high authority, that there can be no such thing as an Universal (Catholic) Church, in the sense of "being one community on earth, to which all Christians are bound to pay submission, its governors and their enactments claiming obedience from all Christ's followers[y]." From which it would follow, among other startling conclusions, that there can be no such appeal as we are speaking of, nor ever could be; that S. Augustine, for example, was dreaming, when he described the Church as a Polity, wherein the decisions of single Bishops might be checked by Provincial Councils, those again by "Plenary Councils gathered out of the whole Christian world," and even these last by subsequent Councils revising them[z]. For the distinguished writer to

[y] Charge of Archbishop Whately, 1851.

[z] De Bapt. cont. Donatist., lib. iii. n. 4.

whom we are referring does not found his objection upon the altered condition of the world, the multiplication of separate States in Christendom, or any other external and political difficulty, but upon this circumstance, internal to the Church, and inseparable from her polity—that we acknowledge no Vicegerent of Christ on earth. His argument would tell as completely against submission to an Œcumenical Council as against the Papacy itself.

It is some kind of satisfaction in such a case to believe that one sees the πρῶτον ψεῦδος—the hypothesis which has issued in such a destructive opinion. Is it not, first, that the Church's actual and permitted condition has been assumed to be its normal and intended condition; and secondly, that authority admitting of appeal has been assumed to be in fact no authority at all? Is it not in reality the Roman assumption, "If the universal Church has paramount authority, there must be a living infallible judge on earth?" This premiss is common to Rome and to the argument with which we are dealing; only they proceed upon it in opposite ways: Rome affirming the antecedent, Church authority infers the consequent, her own infallibility; the other side, denying the latter, is of course obliged to deny the former also. But we—with the ancient Church, as we believe, and with our own two famous Archbishops, Cranmer and Bramhall—deny the assumption, holding, what seems somehow to be overlooked in the argument in question, the possibility that a divine no less than a human constitution may continue in force, though its visible action be interrupted; which would imply that the persons acknowledging it go on under virtual appeal to it, (as we claim to do,) with an intermediate and delegated, not absolute and final, authority. This limited authority, we say, is delegated to us in England by the whole Church, according to a certain constitution, or common law, by which she is guided. And we assert accordingly our claim to the people's deference, yet still with submission to the whole Church, supposing her able and willing to control us: as the governor of any distant province has a real though limited and revocable authority,

and his decrees are subject to appeal, yet he enforces them until the appeal has been heard; which may prove an indefinitely long time.

If we remember rightly, the same writer, in a letter of his on the Exeter Synod, appeared to infer, from the Synod's not making Canons, properly so called, that it had no power at all. This appears to us very like the reasoning which emboldened Bishop Hoadly to deny Church authority, and may be met by setting down one or two passages from Mr. Law's Letters to that Bishop[a]:—

"Your words are these: 'As the Church of Christ is the Kingdom of Christ, He Himself is King; and in this it is implied, that He is the sole Lawgiver to His subjects, and Himself the sole Judge of their behaviour in the affairs of conscience and salvation.' If there be any truth in this argument, it concludes with the same truth and force against all authority in the kingdoms of this world. In Scripture we are told, 'The Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men.' (Dan. iv. 17.) 'That the Lord is our Lawgiver, the Lord is our King.' (Isa. xxxiii. 22.) Now, if because Christ is King of the Church, it must be in this implied, that He is sole Lawgiver to His subjects, it is plain to a demonstration, that because God is King and Lawgiver to the whole earth, that therefore He is sole Lawgiver to His subjects; and consequently that all civil authority, all human laws, are mere invasions and usurpations upon God's authority, as King of the whole earth.

"Is nobody to have any jurisdiction in Christ's Kingdom, because He is King of it? How then comes any one to have any authority in the kingdoms of this world, when God had declared Himself the Lawgiver and King of the whole world? Will your Lordship say, that Christ hath left us the Scriptures as the statute laws of His Kingdom, to prevent the necessity of after laws? It may be answered, that God has given us reason for our constant guide; which, if it were as duly attended to, would as certainly answer the ends of civil life, as the observance of the Scriptures would make us good Christians."

Again[b]:—

"What, therefore, your Lordship has thus logically advanced against the authority of the Church, concludes with the same

[a] "Scholar Armed," vol. i. p. 294. [b] Ibid., p. 397.

force against all authority in the world. For if the Church hath *no authority* in matters of conscience, for this demonstrative reason, because it hath not *an unlimited authority* in matters of conscience, then it is also demonstrated that no persons have any authority in any particular matters, because they have not an absolute unbounded authority in those particular matters."

The Synod, then, we may hope, and the appeal which it has made, are still realities, and we may shelter ourselves in earnest under that appeal: even as we may hope for special Divine guidance,—a real grace of the Holy Ghost, in Church assemblies, without claiming (as seems to be suspected) for each one of them, Inspiration in the highest sense, and Infallibility.

No one pretends that the condition of an appellant is altogether a desirable and happy one; but it is our providential condition. It is our place in God's world, and we can but make the best of it. And by His grace we *shall* make the best of it, if in asserting it we bear constantly in mind, that we, our Church, and each one of us, are Penitents also, Penitents under correction: for what public transgressions, need not now be inquired; one only we may venture to specify, the neglect of godly discipline, for which the Church expressly humbles herself every year at the beginning of Lent.

Under appeal, and *doing penance*;—that is the English Church's place in the Kingdom of Heaven: we are not saying it of her as in comparison with other Churches, but positively: whatever other Churches are, such, we firmly believe, is our place.

And to us it is a most consoling sign, that after all our sad separations and losses, our merciful God appears to be raising up, on all sides of us, men willing and able to realize both these circumstances of our position, and to act upon them effectually. Here and there, in many dioceses, in all quarters of the globe, in all orders of the Church, persons appear to be coming forward, with marks on them, as far as man can judge, of a special call to do just that work which a Church in such a condition requires. We will not name names, but we may entreat our readers

to say "God speed" to them, one and all, from New Zealand "round about unto" Glen Almond and Moray;—and to wish them especially two gifts, on which, as a very little consideration will shew, their success will mainly depend; a real, uncompromising *faith in Christian antiquity* and a power of *sympathising with all sorts and conditions of men*. And for each one of them what better earthly blessing can we ask, than that which even now seems to be vouchsafed to him, whom late events, to say nothing of rank and other qualities, have made most distinguished among them—the unwearied veteran's consolation in a holy war:—a reasonable hope that, as long as he lives and acts, he may be a beginner or chief helper in such works, as the revival of Synodical action for an Appellant Church, and the establishment of Sisters of Mercy for a Penitent Church?

Οὐκ ἔστι γῆρας τῶν σοφῶν, ἐν οἷς ὁ νοῦς
Θείᾳ ξύνεστιν ἡμέρᾳ τεθραμμένος.

NOTE.—We have thought it unnecessary to enter at large into Mr. Gorham's two arguments against the *legality* of the Synod. In his opinion,—however strengthened by legal authority, which, had it been good for much, would certainly not have been kept back till the Synod was held,—that it is contrary to certain Acts of Parliament, he is at issue with the Crown lawyers, whom it would be a pity not to leave in possession of that argument. And his other opinion, that a Diocesan Synod formed by representation has no validity by ancient rules, may be discussed at leisure, *when any such Synod shall profess to make Canons*. To the present occasion it would seem rather irrelevant. Mr. Gorham's opinion would be clearly untenable as to the other Councils of the Church: and this analogy, together with the equity of the case, must add considerable weight even to the few precedents which in the paucity of records have yet been produced.

ON PAROCHIAL WORK[a].

READER, have you ever set out unwillingly on a weary and anxious journey—beginning from the moment you left home to count the hours that would elapse ere you should see it again, and full of that heavy burthensome care, which occupies minds that know themselves unequal to the work they are setting about? and has it chanced to you in the early morning to have your attention arrested by a labourer singing at his work,—singing or whistling with all his might and main, as people do when they are deep in their task, yet thoroughly enjoying themselves in it? and were you not loth to pass him by? did you not look back with a sort of envious wistfulness, longing to join him in the field, or change places with him? and if duty chased that feeling away, yet it may be the remembrance of such a moment was afterwards a stay and comfort to you, and helped you to sing inwardly, when your trouble was at the highest. Somewhat of the like wholesome and cheering effect we may well imagine to have been produced in many a mind by the appearance, just at this time, of such a book as Mr. Monro's. In our daily fight and trouble, in our prayer and strife for the very being, and not only for the well-being of the Established Church of England, endangered now by a heresy which amounts to no less than the denial of all Sacramental Grace: it is a great thing to have attention called to such a specimen of Parochial Work in that Church; to read the report, and to believe, as we have all reason to do, that, allowing for human imperfection, it gives a faithful picture of the parish and of the man. In one respect, indeed, it may be far from cheering to most of us: as each man, in the

[a] "Parochial Work. By the Rev. E. Monro, M.A., Incumbent of Harrow Weald, Middlesex." Oxford and London: J. H. Parker. 1850.

Sacred Ministry especially, shall compare his own doings and his own arrangements with what he finds here, well may it serve to depress and confound him, as all good and great examples do in proportion to our own conscious deficiency. But if there be any manliness in the heart, this will be a wholesome depression and confusion, and the effect will soon shew itself in more regular and self-denying ways, and in a happier state of things between the pastor and his flock. For ourselves we must own, that were it not for some such hope, the very perusal of the work, much more the task of reviewing it, would seem almost too much for us. As it is, we are fain to undertake it as we may.

We are fain, in the first place, (however it may put the greater part of us, clergy and laity, to shame,) to recommend this short treatise, for the points to which it refers, as the best "Country Parson" that has appeared in our times: the most effectual help towards bringing our authorized machinery to bear in special on our present tasks and emergencies. We could wish to see it studied, (with the exception perhaps of one portion, which we need not specify more particularly, than by saying that its very title in the margin implies it to have been intended for the eye and thought, almost exclusively, of the guides of souls, and, therefore, we have sometimes doubted whether it had not better have been written in Latin:)—with the exception of those pages, we could wish to see Mr. Monro's work very familiarly known to all among us, who love God's Church and His poor. We know of no such help, *for the points to which it refers*:—a necessary limitation, since it does not profess to be a complete Treatise on Parochial Work. In all earnestness and reality it is limited to what the author knows of his own knowledge: chiefly, therefore, at least primarily, it treats of the condition of poor agricultural parishes; and while it abounds in original views, and deep sayings of Philosophy and sacred Polity, enforced often with most touching eloquence, it is marked throughout with that which is perhaps the most unequivocal note of reality

and truth—that its generalizations are everywhere visibly bound to the author's own definite and clear experience: in his widest range he never loses sight of the cottage fire-side, or school-room, or confessional chair, whence the course of thought on which he is employed had its origin: like the poet's lark;

> —"while the wings aspire, both heart and eye
> Are with his nest upon the dewy ground. . . .
> Type of the wise, who soar but never roam,
> True to the kindred points of Heaven and Home."

This is his tone and manner—the very tone and manner (if we may venture so to speculate) which indicate one naturally gifted to become a propagator of the Church's Sacramental system: to whom it is a recommendation, not an offence, when he finds much made of very cheap and ordinary symbols: whose joy is rather to begin from the smallest event or reality around him, and trace it upwards and onwards to something very great, than to imagine perfect things at a distance, and long and try to bring the facts of his condition into more exact logical accordance with them. To this, as to so many other points of character, we may perhaps without irreverence apply the Divine maxim, they that are most like little children are meetest for the Kingdom of Heaven—best prepared to teach and work in the Church. For we all know how local, personal, and domestic little children commonly are, both in their speculations and in their attachments: and what a reality this gives to their sayings and doings, compared with those of the full-grown and conceited world.

In substance, then, Mr. Monro's work may be described as a series of earnest and original remarks on the subjects which shall be now set down in their order. First, the sad and fallen state of English society: concerning which, he says generally:—

> "To do more than sketch the evil which exists to be remedied would exceed our present space. It is the alarming and astounding fact of millions of baptized Christians, living, in cities

and villages around us, either in utter ignorance of the religion they profess, or the victims of a deep-rooted and withering infidelity. By the side of the splendid palaces of luxury and ease in the metropolis and other large cities, and within a stone's throw of their doors, are alleys and darkened streets, where in garrets and cellars whole families are grouped, in squalid poverty, filth, and disease, and what is far worse, in a state of ignorance of their awful responsibilities and future destinies which would appal a Hindoo. And often in a space which, if for a moment cleared and unoccupied, would present the features of scarcely more than a small yard of ordinary dimensions, have arisen piles of benighted dwelling-places, whose very mazes and intricacies give one the idea of magnitude, whose occupants never mention the Almighty's name but to curse it, or look on death with any other feeling than as the escape from the miseries of life into nothingness and annihilation; theatres, gin-palaces, and gambling-houses, have far out-numbered schools and churches; and long after the latter have closed their doors for the day, the former pour forth floods of light to lead thousands into their accustomed resort of sin and intoxication. Churches stand dark and silent against the night sky, while these houses of vice blaze with light till the streets cease to echo to the feet of the passing traveller. Nor is the power of evil active alone to satisfy the sensual tendencies of men. Their intellectual yearnings are gratified with an activity, an energy, a zeal truly surprising and worthy of a better cause; schools are open throughout the hours of the evening, where socialist teachers inculcate their tenets and preach their doctrines to thousands, who feel they have rational powers, which no other body has attempted to call out or give food to. In this way a population is fast growing up around us, bound by no law of God, under the influence of violent passions, far too strong for human law to restrain, ready to burst forth beyond all control against the checks of authority and the call of order; this is the evil, and this evil many men hope to remedy by the lowest form of mental education. The result will shew the wisdom of their expectation; a far more effective remedy seems to me to lie in the full and active working of the parochial system [b]."

Then passing to the state of the agricultural poor in particular, he speaks of their notions of Prayer, of the

[b] pp. 5—7.

Sacraments, of Doctrine, their want of reverence, their impurity and dishonesty. We cannot deny that in what he says there is a great deal of sad truth: still we must hope that in very many parishes his statements would appear almost too highly coloured; it perhaps would have tended to mitigate them, had he been *all his life* conversant with this section of the poor, which we rather apprehend has not been the case. For instance, he is disposed to think a good deal of their calling the Creed a Prayer, and using it as such: now this, we apprehend, is simply a relic of the old form of devotion, used from time immemorial in all branches of the Catholic Church; —the form of adding the Credo to the Pater Noster: and their calling it a prayer is no proof that they mistake its meaning: "prayer," in their usage of the word, means much the same as our phrase "devotional formulary:" it is said on their knees, and said to God, and that makes it, in their sense, a "prayer:" they do not stand upon the logical difference between "prayer," "thanksgiving," and "confession of sin, or of faith:" any more than Jesus the son of Sirach did, when he gave the title of Prayer to the eucharistical and moral hymn at the end of Ecclesiasticus. And surely the Creed, said solemnly as in God's presence, is to all intents and purposes a prayer: it is bringing our spiritual armour, day by day, and night by night, to be blessed: it is making the Sign of the Cross, so to speak, upon our very souls: and who will doubt that such acts have in God's sight the force and virtue of a Prayer? We are the more earnest on this point, because we are quite sure that in *some* cases the using the Creed as a Prayer, and so denominating it, is no such token of ignorance, as Mr. Monro's saying would seem to imply: and it is very undesirable, for many reasons, that our people's state should be made out worse than it is; very undesirable, also, most assuredly, that anything should be said which might have the effect, however indirectly, of discouraging the use of that form of sound words in our devotions, which have need of all possible help against Evil Spirits. Any such result, we

are sure, must be the farthest from Mr. Monro's intention: he is well aware that in all our best and most authoritative books of devotion, since the Reformation as well as before, the Creed is prescribed as part of morning and evening prayer. Before the Reformation the Ave Maria was prescribed also: why has not this been continued by our people, as well as the other, if they were merely clinging to a relic of their ancient usages? In fact, they returned at that period, in this as in many other particulars, to the rules of the Anglo-Saxon time: when it was specially enacted in this Church that "every one imbued with the Christian faith should imbue his children also with the same faith, and teach them the Pater Noster and the Credo[c]." And again, that every one should learn the Pater Noster and Credo before he be buried in consecrated ground, or judged meet to receive Holy Communion, or to be sponsor to a child, or to be confirmed[d]. No mention at all, it will be perceived, of the Ave Maria; which in English canons of a few centuries later is carefully inserted into the like enactments[e]. All this makes it credible, that the customs of our English peasantry concerning the Creed are no token of special ignorance, but arise from the same kind of traditional sense of duty, which works such wonders elsewhere in keeping up the Roman system.

Again, in respect of another usage, which he seems to regard as merely childish, and we have no doubt that it is so in a great many, perhaps in most instances: I mean, the sort of invocation to the four Evangelists, which comes into some part of very many of our poor men's devotion:—

> "Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John,
> Bless the bed that I lie on:"—

we could wish to bring to his notice a passage in S. Chrysostom on 1 Cor. Hom. 43, § 7, Oxf. Transl. S. Chrysostom

[c] Can. 17, sub Edgaro. ap. Hard., tom. vi. 661. A.D. 967.
[d] Ib., can. 22,
[e] Ib., tom. vii. 278 E, A.D. *circ.* 1237.

recommends an alms-chest near the place of prayer, and says,—

"As often as you enter in to pray, first deposit your alms, and then send up your prayer, ... since not even *the Gospel hanging by our bed* is more important than that alms should be laid up for you; for if you *hang up the Gospel* and do nothing, it will do you no such great good: but if you have this little coffer, you have a defence against the devil, you give wings to your prayer, you make your house holy, having meat for the king there laid up in store; and for this cause let the little coffer be placed also near the bed, and the night will not be troubled with fantasies."

With somewhat of the like feeling, it seems to have been usual in ancient councils (at Ephesus, for example, A.D. 431), to "set the Holy Gospel on a throne in the very midst, indicating the presence among us of Christ Himself[f]." May not then the familiar couplet alluded to be regarded as a wish or ejaculation addressed to the Almighty, rather than as an invocation, properly so called, to the Saints: a wish, in meaning akin to that ancient Benediction of the Church, "May the reading of the Holy Gospel be to us salvation and protection?" According to this interpretation, (and why should it seem unreal or far-fetched?) our people are no more superstitious in their use of this, than of any other formula, the words of which they do not properly understand: neither can it be strictly called "an address to objects short of God."

Under this head, it startles us a little, as an instance of verbal incaution, to find Mr. Monro saying, "the forms in use are equally deficient [with the postures]: *with the exception of the Lord's Prayer*, no other is generally in use, but," &c.: as if the Lord's Prayer were a slight exception. Our own experience, again, would not confirm his implied statement, that in principle our rustic poor abjure prayers for the dead, so that in mentioning friends departed, as they commonly do at their devotions, they are only shewing their prayers to be "in truth a form gone through

[f] Hard. i. 1441.

with a feeling of mere superstition." On the contrary, we have found much reason to think that the remembrance of the dead in their prayers is a thing consciously and regularly practised by very many, who would be dismayed, beyond measure, at any idea of Roman worship. For instance, an aged dame, who expressed perfect horror of the cross being but mentioned in an inscription over her son's grave, saying, "the people would surely say, Mother so-and-so was turned Catholic," said in the same conversation, that as a matter of course she prayed for her son every night of her life.

We have ventured on these few remarks, partly in justice to our simpler brethren, whose usages, it may be, we are sometimes apt to pronounce upon as hastily as we do on their provincial words and tones, when a little more knowledge of Church antiquities in the one case, and of Anglo-Saxon in the other, would lead to a less severe judgment: partly from a special fear which we have of over-statement on these matters, knowing the kind of use which is but too likely to be made of it: feeling sure also that it will lessen the effect of Mr. Monro's general representations, which, after all allowances, cannot be denied to be sadly and fearfully true.

Under the head of popular ignorance, he says:—

"Our poor are also singularly ignorant on all points of distinctive religious creed: and even on some essential doctrines, as that of the Blessed Trinity, and the Incarnation, they have scarcely gone beyond the impulse and outline of natural religion. They do not realize, with any degree of keenness or consideration, their relation to any one of the truths of Christianity. Adults of a certain age, amongst our labouring classes, will have the appearance very frequently of being religious and devotional in their daily life, and that to a degree to which the poor of many other countries will not seem to have attained, while all the time, on examination, it will be found that they are scarcely more than conscious of their devotion being paid to the Maker of the universe, who will one day judge them. This is in most cases the limit of the objective creed, which they are conscious of, and in reference to which they live religiously. Any distinct

views of our Blessed Lord's position with regard to them, of their true condition as sinners, their state with regard to holy Baptism or the Catholic Church, are far from being realized. Or if they do by expression imply an inward consciousness of any such relation, it is in words and sentences so vague, and indefinite, and fruitless, as to convey to one's own mind the impression of great unreality; for instance, the acknowledgment in general terms of being a great sinner, but being unprepared to mention any fault of which they are aware, and their astonishment at being told of any deficiency actually and practically existing in their own character, which they have just pronounced to be materially deficient. In the same way many will be utterly unable to mention on what their hope of pardon is founded, and yet they will at once, if helped to it, fall into a statement of our Blessed Lord's death on the cross. And this absence of consciousness of an objective creed is one of the striking features of our poor when considered religiously, distinguishing them from the poor of nearly all other nations, and all forms of religion. The faith and ceremonies of heathen systems call out more conscious devotion from the disciples of their creed, more living reality of practice and feeling, more burning zeal with respect to the particular fact, than we generally see approached by our own people. The one would die for the object of his faith, which lives before his soul, while the other is scarcely conscious of any such object to die for, not that he has not got the natural religious impulse to do it, but he lacks the intellectual conviction and grasp of any such object. Consciousness of the points of an objective creed, when keenly defined, gives a reality to expression, a fervour to the life, and an individuality to the faith, which are utterly lost in the more undefined plan of natural religion. We need the revelation of Christianity to make us aware of certain relations we stand in, which we were not conscious of, and of which being conscious, a new energy, life, and reality is imparted to the religious practice. I do not here deny the general religious tone of our poor, and that perhaps in comparison with the poor of other nations it is greater, but this proceeds from what we would call the sincere efforts of a conscientious people under the guidance of the Holy Spirit received at Baptism. I firmly believe, that under catechetical examination our people would lamentably fail, and shew an ignorance which would not only shame but

astonish many among us. There is, as I said, no lack of a general goodness of disposition and character among the English poor, they are, compared with other populations, singularly moral and well inclined. It is an intellectual deficiency I am complaining of, produced partly by external circumstances, and partly arising from a natural slowness of apprehension. The co-operation of these two causes is seen in many other results, and produces the same vagueness and unreality which has been complained of in their daily use of prayer. E.g. they will constantly tell you, if asked about their performance of the duty of prayer, that they 'pray all day,' and never 'cease praying,' are 'always at prayer,' expressions to the last degree unreal, as the very person who has used them will be unable the next moment to give you one clear answer as to what prayer is, or what they pray for. If we look through the great number of phraseologies in use among them, we find the same character attributable to the same cause: expressions with regard to our Blessed Lord's atonement, with regard to the Holy Communion, and the Last Judgment, all taking the same unreality of form. All conventional phrases imply a certain degree of unreality. Modes of expression received from father to son will be found nearly the same in all parts of England, and will be adhered to with a tenacity truly surprising. Certain modes of believing and speaking about Holy Communion have so little reason as to defy all the batteries of reasoning and moral authoritative teaching, and yet with the best intention possible they will cling to them to the last gasp. The forms of expression seem to arise from a certain inward desire to do right, and a conscious dependence on God's providence, which a strong natural religion works within them: but which when receiving definiteness and expression, assumes a form of unreality. The fact is, no people are more real in their actions than the English people, and whatever there is good in them is truly and deeply so, but few are more unreal in modes of expression, and ways of thinking; a condition easily accounted for, from the co-operation of the two causes of a natural intellectual dulness, and the want of any catechetical training [g]."

We have made this long extract, chiefly for its own beauty and instructiveness' sake, in part also for the sake

[g] pp. 24—28.

of intimating a doubt, similar to what we have ventured on above, whether sufficient account is here taken of most Englishmen's great inability to express in words, what, nevertheless, they feel and know with a very real feeling and knowledge. How continually does it happen, that in speaking with our people on grave points, although it may be they cannot answer a word, we are sure they understand us, by the very expression of their countenances; and if asked, they profess that they do, in a manner which quite satisfies one at the time, and ere long something happens which shews that one was right to be satisfied. This occurs constantly in teaching the duller or shyer sort of children, and in preparing persons for Confirmation and Holy Communion: and unless it be borne in mind, there will be some danger lest persons endeavouring to act on Mr. Monro's hints, do harm by pressing always for definite answers, discouraging the timid, and damaging in many that precious quality of "reserve," and "want of consciousness," on which he so truly and beautifully goes on to remark:—

"There are few people amongst whom the subject-matter of deep poetry resides more than among the English poor, still there are few who perhaps are less consciously poets. Take the case of the feeling of the wife; there are not many instances of freedom from selfishness and of self-denying devotion to be found in the world, more striking than that which we find shewn by the wife of an English peasant towards her husband. She will bear patiently with outbreaks of the most unreasonable passion, will toil herself for her children when the father spends his earnings on a sensual life; will go without any but the plainest food, that he may have sufficient for his daily work; will screen his faults to the last, when those faults consist in the most cruel treatment of herself; will place herself in numberless difficulties in order to save him from just punishment, and yet with all this she will be scarcely conscious of any definite feeling towards him, and in conversation would give one the impression of indifference and want of affection [h]."

"Verily I say unto you, This poor widow hath cast in

[h] pp. 29, 30.

more than they all:" but surely we have no reason to imagine that she was herself aware of what she was really doing: but much to apprehend, that had she known, it might have been a snare unto her. The praise and the caution would appear to extend to all other subject-matter, as well as that of alms-giving. Let us beware how, in training our people, we interfere with that happy unconsciousness which appears to be the φυσικὴ ἀρετὴ,—the natural ground—of true Christian simplicity.

It will be seen that the exceptions which we have hinted at in regard of some of Mr. Monro's statements, relate chiefly to what he says of the better sort of poor persons, and the more promising side of their character. With his confessions regarding the sad prevalence of certain deadly sins among them as a class, we can but in sorrow and shame concur: and yet we are fain to hope, that the severe bodily labour which is the lot of most of them, may have tended to preserve them in some measure from that utter and reckless voluptuousness—the common and fearful penalty of abused leisure. Nevertheless, it is a sad case, nor has Mr. Monro said a word too much of it.

It is a sad case; how is it to be met? In abstract, perhaps, many answers might be given; to us, in fact and in deed, one only. *Spartam nactus es; hanc orna.* We have, for the present at least, our Parochial system: let us try and make the most of it. What is the Parochial system? It may be defined as an arrangement by which the cure of souls is delegated by the Bishop for certain purposes, according to the terms of institution or licence, to one or more persons, to be exercised within certain bounds. If this be allowed as a correct definition, it would seem that we have implicitly settled by it one of the greatest and most fundamental points, which are apt to be debated among zealous persons, when the question is, How may the Church do her work? Practically, we know, at least to a great extent, people seem to have answered this question for themselves, by determining to be satisfied with the Church's work, when they see "the Clergy *generally* leavening the people, and giving

a tone to society." But the "cure of souls" surely implies something very different from this. It may be that in some cases from insufficiency of numbers, in others from other causes which need not be here specified, it has become impracticable for the Priests of our Church to apply themselves severally to each particular soul: but is there anywhere any one who would deny, that apart from such difficulties, the thing is in itself desirable, and should be the standard at least, for each one of us to measure his work by, how sadly soever he may feel that he falls short of it? Indeed, the word "cure" by itself tells its own story in this regard; who would think of being "cared" for, medically cared for, without telling his case to the physician? Who would be satisfied if only care were taken to dispense good medical books among those who were in danger of taking a complaint, and to see to it that the books were read and understood by them? This appears to us such plain common sense, as to admit of only one sufficient answer: the answer of the extreme Protestant. *He* may allege that the whole illustration is idle: that there is no analogy between the two cases, the care of each man's soul being left so exclusively to himself, that it is a sin and an absurdity for any fellow-man to interfere at all between man and his Maker. What sort of a tenet this is, what consequences, if carried out, it would end in, we are not now considering: but at least those who hold it may consistently reject altogether the principle of private confession: *they*, and as it seems to us, they *only*. All others must admit the thing to be desirable, however they may differ as to its practicability, or the details of its application. Mr. Monro has illustrated this from the practice of the Wesleyans and others. He has also adverted to some of the ordinary objections: dread of "Priestcraft;" supposed encouragement of a sort of indolent or idolatrous reliance on man; weakening of the sense of responsibility: to which, perhaps, might have been added, a kind of partial and unhealthy excitement, to which the weaker classes in mind and heart seem liable, especially when entering on the practice;

as though they were at liberty to spend all the zeal of which they are capable, unreservedly, upon this one ordinance, and the preparation and direction connected with it: and to provide out of it an ascertainable test of their own and others' condition, much as another school might regard a supposed process of sensible conversion. According to what little experience we have been able to gather on the subject, this is a very real danger: but we mention it here, chiefly for the purpose of remarking, that in common with the other abuses above specified, it applies less, perhaps, to the ordinary population of our villages, than to any other class of persons which might be mentioned. They are usually, as the Monro of a former age has described them, "thick and heavy, and hard to raise to a point of zeal and fervency, and need a mountain of fire to kindle them." They have commonly a hard burden of work, and of out-door work, and very often the realities of family care pressing on them at home: so that they have no leisure, no room in their heart to indulge themselves in sentiments and fancies, secular or religious. When they can be brought to pour themselves out to you at all, they do it in a calm uncompromising tone, which proves to you better than any words could, how determined they are to give a true account of themselves. Then as to the notion of abuse in the way of priestcraft (so called) or undue dependence on man, it is not here as in Ireland: our peasantry are, generally speaking, very much bound to their landlords and employers; the most popular clergyman in mixed matters could hardly expect from them more than a divided allegiance; not such as he might gather to himself, if he sought it, from the half-starved denizens of a crowded town, where he might chance to have come into fashion. Then the comparatively reserved and silent habits, of our labouring men at least, would obviate one principal inconvenience which has been sometimes found to attend on the revival of confession among us—the disposition of some under direction to "gossip" and "compare notes" even on that sacred subject: on which account, by-the-bye, as well as on many

others, it seems highly desirable that all penitents should be bound by promise to say nothing of what passes (except to persons to whom for some reason they are accountable) as strictly, almost, as the confessor is pledged to silence by the very law of the transaction. As to the idea that confessing sin to a Priest according to the Rubric of the Church of England, and so receiving our Lord's Remission, has the least tendency to unnerve and enslave the spirit of the English yeoman or peasant who avails himself of it, and to deprive him of proper self-respect: it seems to us, we must say, the most foolish and unreal of all possible apprehensions: — a panic raised (we say it in all seriousness) by the only Being who counts it his interest to keep us bound with the chain of our sins. Talk of liberty and enfranchisement!—What is untying of earthly bonds, or escape from earthly tyranny, compared with the sense which the faithful heart has, or feels that it ought to have, of that absolving sentence? It can only be expressed in the words of the Psalm used constantly in reference to Christian Confession, and inspired, no doubt, for that very purpose; "Thou art a place to hide me in, Thou shalt preserve me from trouble, Thou shalt compass me about with Songs of Deliverance."

The most valid by far of the objections raised to this ordinance is the fear lest with many, perhaps with the greater part, it may tend to diminish their sense of personal responsibility. But this is obviously a plea, not against confession and absolution, but against over-minute direction: a practice perfectly separable from them, and discountenanced by many who are most eager for them: and among the rest by Mr. Monro himself, who says[1]:—

"I wish to be clearly understood as not advocating the direction of people's actions. People surely are not at liberty to devolve moral responsibility upon another. Conscience is God's voice within each of us; and a far higher director for most purposes than any human guide, however exalted in spiritual wisdom; and that guide who, on light grounds, ventures to impose

[1] p. 38.

his judgment for its inward guiding voice, runs the hazard of interfering with the operations of the blessed Spirit. But since conscience is deadened and dulled by sin and ignorance, in the case of so many, our duty is to awaken the moral ear to its whisper, to convince of sin, and furnish each man with the especial weapons for its subjection. The priest must see that each is clothed with the whole armour of God. This well done, the detail of daily life in all its relationships may safely be left to the individual's own control. The relationships of man with man are generally so refined and delicate, as to be beyond the power of explanation to another, and how can we expect a safe judgment when the case can, in the nature of things, be only imperfectly stated? A strong-minded and conscientious man would feel himself to be a loser by frequently obtaining a too favourable judgment. Any less stern judgment than conscience would have given, must effeminate the character. But the case of our people does yet demand from us help and sympathy commensurate with the peculiar difficulties and temptations of each."

In connexion with this subject we may remark, what has of late become but too evident to some who are occasionally invited to act as directors, that the apparent longing for direction (strange to say) is in certain cases but a subtle form of self-will—a feeling about for an excuse to take one's own way. For instance, in points of doctrine people say, "We want to be told so and so,—let it be the need of Auricular Confession, or a particular view of the Eucharistic Sacrifice,—by a direct decree of the Church immediately binding upon us individually: we will not be content with less; if we cannot see *that* where we are, we must go elsewhere." Or again they say, "We have made up our minds that the note of unity in the Church differs from the note of sanctity in this respect, that the latter may be in great measure a mere unrealized tendency, whereas the former, in order to exist, must be carried out perfectly even here in the eyes of men: shew us that what you call branches of the Church are one with each other in this sense, or we will not believe that any but one of them can be in the Church at all; and we will go to that one which, in our judgment, alone teaches this opinion of

ours:" or in some matter of personal practice, devotional observance, or the like, they give one plainly to understand, that a particular way of going on is *in their judgment* necessary for their souls' good, and they are sure they cannot do without it; forbid it, and they must become sceptics or something else. We might go on enumerating many such cases: in which the petition to be guided has just about as much reality in it as a *Congé d'Elire*, or the summons at Bow Church when the elect of Manchester or Hereford had to be confirmed. The unfortunate "director" can in general plainly see, from the very beginning of the interview, that all it means is, "I have made up my mind, but I would fain have you responsible for it:" but he has not the courage, or the harshness, whichever it should be called, to cut matters short: so he says in an embarrassed way what occurs to him for the time, and tries to be patient, when the result, which from the first moment he anticipated, actually occurs. Instances like these may well make one afraid of a certain unreality, which has to be guarded against in the use of Confession and Pastoral advice: and which, we apprehend, is hardly separable, except perhaps in some very rare and high cases, from the habit of requiring *minute* and *incessant* direction. Those who have been humoured in such ways are almost sure, sooner or later, to stumble upon some point in which they have a strong will, yet their customary dependence on their guide will not let them be contented without his sanction: and so they are tempted to wander more or less from straightforward truth and simple dutifulness, under the guise, it may be, of high self-devotion. It is the Priest's business to watch against such abuses, and to give no occasion for them: but they have no force at all as an objection to the legitimate and authorized mode of personal intercourse which the Prayer-book virtually enjoins: on the contrary, it is quite plain, that the more *that* is appreciated and practised, the more easy will they prove both of detection and of cure. Especially as to the class of persons of whom chiefly Mr. Monro is speaking—the working *men* of an agricultural parish:—refinements of

dealing, such as we have now exemplified, are little likely to occur among them: rather, we should fear, might we apprehend an obstinate unwillingness to unburthen the mind at all: where that is once got over, (and the experience referred to in this work is enough to shew that faith, hope, *and love*, will in time effectually subdue it,) there will be a force, simplicity, and courage in their communications, most refreshing to those who have to deal with them. As in their bodily, so in their spiritual work, their blunt common sense added to dutifulness, will (by that Aid which is sure not to be denied) scarcely find anything too hard for it. But it will never come into their heads that they can free themselves of responsibility, when they have once fairly accepted the Doctrine of a Judgment to come. On the contrary, their very object in seeking the benefit of absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice, was to enlarge their responsibility, by obtaining deliverance from the chain of past sin, and better principles to guide them for the future. They felt that their consciences were in a manner seared; they longed to be thoroughly awakened, and made aware of God's Presence and Guidance: but the morbid craving for minute direction seems rather to imply that people count themselves too conscientious—it savours of the mind of those who besought Jesus to depart out of their coasts. A wise steward of the precious sacerdotal grace will know how to correct these latter, and teach them to have root in themselves, without discouraging the earnest desires of the former. He will keep up his pastoral authority, and avail himself of his personal influence, such as he may have, without allowing them to tempt themselves to "Hero Worship:" if so we may denominate a tendency, which of late years has been and is harming us, and spoiling our good, to a sad and fearful extent.

We pass with Mr. Monro from the question, whether personal intercourse is desirable, to another, much harder to be answered:—how it can be sufficiently realized. Mr. Monro puts the following case:—

"Let me suppose a clergyman called to the cure of 1,000 people, 350 of whom are adults, and the remaining 650 minors, rang-

ing from sixteen to infancy. Let me instance the case in an agricultural district, and the habits of the people as we find them in such neighbourhoods, the men employed on field-work till six o'clock in the afternoon on an average through the year, increasing in length towards the height of summer, when the harvest calls on them for later employment. The women during the principal part of the year occupied in domestic work, but during the early weeks of spring employed at planting and couching, and in the time of hay and corn harvest able to earn an additional trifle. With such a population and such occupations, it would not be hard for a clergyman to devote three evenings in the week from six to nine, for the express purpose of seeing such persons individually, in a room either in connexion with the church, or in his own house. Suppose one half of that number communicants, and the ostensible reason for coming, the preparation for Holy Communion once in the month before reception, if Holy Communion be only administered monthly, and the remaining half invited to come for the purpose of preparation for first Communion, or for some other purpose, which I will suggest presently (passing by for a moment the difficulty of inducing them to come at all), in the course of the month the clergyman will have been brought into direct personal communication with each one of his flock for a quarter of an hour before each Communion. It would be easy to expand or to shorten this time, according to the amount of the population, but this is simply suggested as a possible mode of doing it. This kept up continually and systematically, tells wonderfully on the character; the interview looked to and prepared for, becomes a point in the daily life of the individual, up to which and from which his self-examinations tend and date; it becomes the magnet to his character, it gives point and meaning to his religious life, and destroys vagueness; in those few minutes the nature of sin becomes clearer, the difficult work of self-examination is aided by being suggested through the questions of the spiritual adviser. The habit of self-reflection is given, and an interest is created in watching spiritual progress by the expectation of inquiries to be made at the next interview. A habit of watchfulness is formed by the expectation, and with watchfulness prayer and daily effort[k]."

Now to this, we know, scores and hundreds of clergymen will say at once, "Alas, this is too high for me: it is

[k] pp. 52—54.

very well for a gifted person, but I have not the gift either of persuading my people to come, or of dealing with them to good purpose when they are come:" we shall say this, and well may we say it; but let us not, therefore, turn over the page in despondency. After all, it is but an instance of that which we must all feel in every part of our pastoral office. From beginning to end a man seems to his own conscience to be "exercising himself in great matters which are too high for him." Every little child that he has to deal with proves to him how powerless, how unworthy, what a lifeless wooden creature he is; and yet he knows that he must go on: "a necessity is laid upon him; yea, woe is unto him if he preach not the Gospel:" he has opened his mouth unto the Lord, and he cannot go back: he has put his hand to the plough, and he must not look behind him. Therefore he need not be too much cast down, if in this, or in any other instance, he lights upon a pattern or standard, clearly intended for his use, yet as clearly (to his thinking) beyond all imaginable reach of his. True conscientiousness, true energy, true and cordial good meaning will be shewn in such a case, not by looking on (or looking off) in a kind of despairing admiration, but by taking at once in hand so much of the suggested course of action as one's own immediate calls and circumstances allow, and by watching and praying for opportunities of doing more. All this is so obvious, that we are almost ashamed to set it down. But such truisms have their use, both for writer and reader, properly taken: they are like breaking out in the clear morning air into some bold and familiar tune, by way of driving off thoughts that perplex and haunt you, though at the bottom you know them to be unreal.

Let the guide of souls look at the matter in this plain common-sense way: let him first, as need shall require and occasion shall be given, rid himself of his own burthen, and one by one, by quicker or slower degrees, he will be made to perceive how he may help in taking off the burdens of others. In his suggestions, let him avoid language which is sure to be misunderstood, and which is,

therefore, in the particular case, false, although some, perhaps, might adopt it through excess of frankness: e.g. such phrases as "direction," "auricular confession," and the like, however one may desire to use them for sympathy's sake with holy men abroad and their writings, are yet better not used by us, not merely lest offence be created, but also because they would really cause misapprehension; associated as they are in almost all minds with something more absolute, peremptory, and indispensable, than we should practically mean by them.

In this, as in almost all other respects, the Prayer-book will be found the best help. Its requirements cannot be carried out, in our dealings with either the sick or the whole, without bringing this matter, of opening their minds to the Priest, clearly before them. It is well to make this plain, when in our ministrations we first introduce the subject: people ought by all means to understand clearly that such is our plain duty according to the Rubric; that it is not we who speak, but the Church in the Prayer-book. Now, if men are really borne down by the weight of their sins, and not embarrassed with Ultra-Protestant prejudices, it is morally impossible that those sayings of the Prayer-book, fully and gravely set before them, should not sink into their hearts: but it will be often necessary to allow them a great deal of time; we must deal with them in the gentlest and most gradual way; we must not be too much like children, always wanting to stir the ground where they have put in some favourite seed, to see whether it have begun to shoot. From time to time the hint may be repeated, both in public and in private advice; and for this, as for other reasons, it will be most desirable, when it may be prudently and effectually done, to enforce generally (not universally) the Church's rule that all Communicants should give notice a while before celebration. That this rule may be enforced, and that without giving offence or suspicion, we happen to know, by the practice of a good and devoted Priest of what is called the Evangelical School, who kept it up, we believe to very good effect, during many years' ministry in a town

parish. How he proceeded with those who gave him notice, cannot of course be known: one can hardly conceive but that many must have been induced to open their minds to him; at any rate, his practice shewed that the rubric in question need not be always a dead letter.

The mere enactment, too, of that rubric by our Church, is a strong fact in favour of the system of personal intercourse here recommended, especially if we are to understand the term "open and notorious sin" in the sense of "known and flagrant," rather than of "commonly discoursed of," which interpretation, we should have thought, plain common sense forces upon us; for otherwise we are driven to conclude, that if the Priest were personally aware of a candidate for Communion having committed murder or adultery, still he ought not to refuse him the Sacrament, unless the congregation were also aware of it.

No doubt, if this simple rule of the English Church could be generally kept, it would help us more than any one thing towards that habit of personal intercourse, in which our best hopes of successful ministration must lie. It would give us the same vantage-ground with our Communicants, towards perseverance and improvement, which would be given us towards Non-Communicants by that other rule, of receiving three times in the year, Easter being one. Whoever will reflect, will perceive that these two rules, duly made known and followed up, would constitute a regular and effectual system of Church Discipline with Adults, even as the rules about Sponsors, Catechising and Confirmation would secure a complete Church Education for children. The machinery is there; we need only the moving power. Let there be a religious and living sense of Church authority, and the work of discipline, as well as doctrine, is done for us.

But this is a digression. We were about to observe on one result of these or similar processes being adopted as Church rules, which at first sight might appear trivial, but which many persons will know by experience to be of no small practical consequence. It takes off at once all the awkwardness and difficulty of breaking ground on these

matters between the Priest and the members of the flock. Without practice, one would hardly conceive the amount of hindrance in our pastoral relations due to this one cause; aggravated as it is among us by our Anglo-Saxon shyness, or pride, or reserve. The Priest visits house after house, and comes away again leaving unsaid that, which to express was the very object of his visit. The parishioner meets or receives the Priest again and again, and is ever on the point of making some disclosure, and as often his heart fails him, and they pass by as they met; and all for want of some distinct rule or custom, some recognised, formal, conventional mode of communication, which should free what is said and done of personalities, painful or agreeable, and cause it to be all taken as in the way of business and duty. This would be in good measure supplied by the more general acknowledgment of Church Rules, such as we have referred to.

Another great and (in one sense) never-failing help, in such embarrassment as we have alluded to, has been found by some, in making a rule to open all such conversations with a short and silent act of devotion:—e.g. before one begins to speak to a Parishioner concerning any case of conscience, or to examine a Candidate for confirmation, one might use one's self and them to say the Lord's Prayer severally in their hearts. People have seemed to find great help in this.

Of course it is of the very greatest importance that every thing should be *sub sigillo, on both sides:* but on this we have spoken before. One point which did not then occur, we may just advert to in this place: the need of care to avoid, in these pastoral interviews, all gossip and personal talk about others—a thing which has been sometimes even ludicrously complained of in foreign Penitentiaries; and it will be found perhaps that conversations with communicants, and people supposed to be more or less advanced in religion, are more dangerous in this respect than when we have to do with beginners. In speaking of how to do others good, and of the cases of conscience which have occurred relating to them, very well-meaning Penitents

are apt to glide insensibly into disquisitions most foreign to the purpose for which they came to the Priest.

A few grains of old English common sense, or rather of Christian prudence and charity, applied to the realities of English life (a grace to be specially prayed for as well as cultivated), will effectually guard us from all these and the like absurdities, and will be rewarded, through God's blessing, with many a repetition of that sight, dear to angels, (if one may say so without presumption,) of a noble-hearted English peasant on his knees in humble confession, making an unreserved offering of himself, and never dreaming that what he is about is at all out of the common.

The foundation of Parochial Work being thus laid in personal intercourse, the several usages and ministries of which it consists, in church and out of church, fall into their several places, and assume more and more of their true meaning and importance in the eyes of those who are to be profited by them. The Daily Service, for example, with or without its choral and architectural helps, will necessarily wear quite a different aspect in a parish which is duly and constantly visited, from what it does in a cathedral town, or in a village less happily circumstanced. Many who, in the one case, would esteem it a mere "crotchet" of the Minister, will, in the other, be led to regard it in its true light, as an exercise of Divine communion, and a means of obtaining Divine help. We once, indeed, knew of a resident in a parish which was served by a most active and zealous Clergyman, saying to his Vicar in a fit of spleen, "And then there is your Church bell continually going—the sound of it is never out of one's ears:" but the man was an avowed Dissenter: had he been one of the flock, he would soon have come to understand the purpose of such constant resorting to the Chief Shepherd: he would have seen something of the wear and tear—the forebodings and misgivings incident to the cure of souls: he would have thought it well that one so anxious, so determined to spend and be spent,

should have a place where he might go to rest awhile in the Life-giving Presence, and to keep up his heart and strength for the work. On their own account, too, as well as on their Minister's, they will have thoughts about the daily service, which they would not have had but for the aforesaid personal intercourse. In proportion as they become aware of the value of their own souls, and of Christ's intercession, will they think more of the Church Prayers, even those prayers which they cannot attend on themselves: they will think it a great thing to be so remembered and prayed for: absent in body, they will try to be present in spirit: the plough or the loom which they are guiding will seem in a manner to keep time to the sounds of "Mr. Herbert's Saints' bell ringing to prayers:" and the beautiful custom of other times and countries will be in effect revived among us—men will pause for a moment from their hard work to acknowledge the Church's warning of each sacred hour as it comes on.

For it is a great mistake to measure the effect of Daily Service altogether by the number of attendants on it. The fact that it is going on, if it be thought of at all, (as it will be if associated with the labours and character of a priest who is much among his people,) will tell upon the place, gradually and in insensible ways. To aged and infirm persons, persons who for any cause are "laid by," the visit to the Church will be the event of every day, to which they will look forward and backward with a sort of home feeling, inexpressibly soothing to old age. Those who are familiar with such, know how frequently they refer to it, how they anticipate the renewal of it after any slight interruption, what music the contemplation of it makes in their minds, by their quiet firesides, or as they lie awake in the night. It is out of all reason that this should not make some difference to those who wait upon such arm-chairs, or sick beds: here and there one or another of them must needs begin to think there is something in it: Martha cannot be for ever busy about Mary, and not find out something of the secret of her calm happiness.

The attendance of children, again, is a great point: and

here we are rejoiced to find Mr. Monro's sanction unequivocally given to the practice of including the village school in the daily as well as in the Sunday congregation, in spite of certain obvious difficulties. Our own experience fully justifies the rule: supposing, of course, that care is taken to enforce outward reverence and attention. However listless and dreamy many of the little ones may seem at the time—however restless their eyes and fingers, (provided their voices are kept quiet, and they are not allowed wilfully to disturb one another,) it is not in a child's nature not to love and revere the place where he is so taken day after day: the sounds, and ways, and other remembrances of the place will enter, if permitted, into all the corners of his heart, and will haunt him for his good as long as ever he lives. And it may be found, perhaps, where circumstances allow it, that there is no better way of teaching Scripture history, than by catechising on the daily lessons in Church immediately after the service—the place and time assisting to maintain that religious awe, which ought always to accompany that part of young people's instruction, but which is too likely to fail when it comes in as a portion of the common routine in the school-room. Thus, too, the important point is being continually realized, that Holy Scripture is, in fact, taught us by the **Church, not by the individual instructor.**

To us it appears of so great consequence that the very old and the very young should have their respective parts, and feel their interest, in the daily service, that for the sake of it we can be content, at least for one of the two offices, to forego the chance of more general attendance on the part of the labouring poor: and it has been partly, we apprehend, with this view, that the hours of matins and even-song have been fixed, in some instances, at the times so severely animadverted on by Mr. Monro—10 A.M., for instance, and 4 P.M. The schools, the aged people, and in some cases, certain invalids who had much claim to be considered, were found to be strong arguments for the arrangement which he objects to. But further experience seems to have shewn that 10 P.M. and 7 or 8 A.M. are, on

the whole, the most likely hours to be convenient in a country parish.

Of course, when Mr. Monro says that men must be first worked on individually—that it is unreal, and untrue, to expect men to attend daily service, when they are not leading lives fit for it;—he does not mean that we should wait till the parish is reformed before we begin opening the Church daily: he himself says, "I would not be supposed to say that daily prayers should not be used in untaught parishes:" since, even in the most neglected, there would be found, by God's blessing, a few who would deem the open Church a privilege, God's secret discipline having prepared them for it. And since such privileges are intended and offered, where only two or three can be gathered to claim them, it should seem that the minister, in such a case, has, strictly speaking, no choice, no right to withhold them. Still, though in order of time both may be commenced at once and go on together; in the order of cause and effect, personal intercourse, or the discipline equivalent to it, must go before daily service. "Before thou prayest, prepare thyself;" before thou invitest thy people to pray, do what thou canst to set them on thinking of God. In substance, it is much the same sentiment as that of Bishop Taylor, when he directs his Clergy, "in taking account of the good lives of themselves and others, to take their measures, *last of all*, by their observation of the ordinances and exterior parts of religion." Last of all, in order, not in importance,—as the top and crown of all the rest; unmeaning or worse, without discharge of other duties, but quite necessary, to make them signs of real goodness.

One point there is about the daily service, and that one of the deepest importance, on which Mr. Monro's words appear to us peculiarly precious:—

"There is a soothing influence in the act, a freedom from excitement which all who know it, love. It seems to expect and soothe the awe which the objects of religion must wear to the soul, it prepares men for the solemn and terrible in the things of

God. Excitement in religion raises the awful without allaying it. Men are not conscious of it at the moment, nor often know the real effect of excitement till it is past. If men consider it, they will see, that excitement in religion has always left an indefinite awe behind, a sense that the feeling of excitement has been unduly exerted, that the object of it was far beyond it, that it was a feeling unworthy of its end; the latter was too great, too vast to bear such a mode of approach. It is a case which is met by the calm monotony of daily prayer, where the truth of the object is taken for granted, and no further search into it allowed; there it is made the ground-work of devotional exercise, the unquestioned and uninvestigated subject of constant petition. It seems to enable us to meet the solemnities of God without undue terror, it allays the feverish excitement and consequent alarm and suspense of frequent search, and forms in men an humble, devout habit of mind. We appeal to men who have tried it, to answer to the truth of what we have said. That men do fall back on it, as the more real of the two states, we appeal to the fact, that while the services, attendance at which is made to depend on the excitement of preaching, are awhile attended with eagerness, and services which are divested of everything save the act of 'monotonous' devotion are little used or valued at first; on the other hand, the attendance on the former gradually dwindles away, and that on the other, by degrees, becomes more settled, more frequent, and more devoted. Men do really love and yearn after sameness. It is tedious and irksome in the end, though at the moment it may be pleasing, to undergo excitement. How truly the Church has seen and answered this part of man's constitution! She becomes the calm home of her children in all their troubles through this scene of strife; she is the same, though they change; she alters not, however altered they may be; she recalls her children, by the oft-heard voice of daily prayer, to leave the world and come to God. Who can tell the tranquil peace created by returning, day after day, at the same hour, to the same house, to say and hear the same words? We go there when friends are cold, and are led to One who never changes; we go there in sorrow, and her sentences fall into accents of sympathy and comfort; we go there in prosperity, and the echo of sorrow has not left her walls; we are reminded to rejoice with trembling; her sorrow is sweet, her joy softened; we go there when our hearts are cold and tinged with the world's spirit, and

we find the power of our warmer feelings, our closer communion, still clinging to her prayers and exhortations, still bound up, as it were, with her very stones, and we are melted into tenderness again. When we have grown worldly, the prayer we used in sorrow brings us back, for it is the same prayer, the same power still, though we have changed; the words we sent up with fervour, in our days of deeper devotion, again arouse the feeling when it has fled from our mind. She is in every tone, form, and detail, the sweet and kind remembrancer of better things. On the ear of death, the same voice falls which claimed us at baptism, and cheered us ever since. She is one voice with many tones, but whether the tone sink on the room of sickness or death, whether it fall on the unconscious sense of infancy, or the opening mind of youth at confirmation, or whether it consecrate the changes of life, or call us to oft-communion, it is the same sweet mother's voice, recognised through the medium of its thousand tones[1]."

Then, after speaking of the Church's associations with antiquity, he dwells on her soothing power to recal the times of our own boyhood: and so to satisfy that natural yearning,—

> "The child is parent of the man,
> And I would wish my days to be
> Bound each to each by natural piety."

"It speaks to us, not only as members of one body, but, as I said above, as individuals made up of successive periods of existence. She is our mother; she had our first love, and heard it often repeated at her altar, and will speak to us with an accustomed love in our last hours. Her daily prayers are the links of the chain which unites the first with the last day of our life, reminding us of the sameness of our being, and that the highest view of sameness is our connexion with God. When the world has touched us with its icy hand, she melts its grasp with the recollection of the simplicity of childhood, of the trusted truth of her catechising, of the fresh energy of her confirmation. She remains simple; she reminds us we were simple once, when we, perhaps, have almost forgotten simplicity. The feelings we

[1] pp. 83—85.

had at the dying hours of those we loved, and the changes in us they made, the world has perhaps chilled; but we go back to her and she re-opens the fountain of tears which had dried up, and places us again by the side of those whom the world would have us forget. Their spirits are still with her, and we find them there. Her creeds are a word about them; the world would have us forget them when we left them, but she continues on through the dying hour: with her it was but a change from one state to another. All this belongs to her associative power; these and a thousand more are the objects she offers to our feelings, which yearn after association; feelings which will, which must, have a home; and the act which applies all this to each individual is daily prayer. In doing thus, does she not consecrate a natural desire to God? Does she not, in the meantime, refine and chasten the whole character, intellectual and moral[m]?"

All, more or less, are aware of this as a fact; but all are not quite aware to how great an extent it depends on a certain monotony, a low unvarying accent, a "brooding over her own sweet voice," which marks our Mother's enunciation and manner, as distinctly as sameness of doctrine—the *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*—belongs to the *matter* of her teaching. The well-known tradition of the last of the Apostles, carried for years day after day into Church, and day after day repeating simply, "Little children, love one another," is a type and symbol of the Church's monotonous song. As another instance of it, we will mention a fact known to ourselves. An aged priest who had served God in the same parish more than fifty years, and was sincerely loved as the father of his flock, told us that, in all that time, he had never used any form in visiting the sick, except the office in the Book of Common Prayer. It was not that he prayed without any form—*that* was not at all his line—but we understood him to mean that he had such faith in the authority and wording of that Office, as to deem and find it sufficient, like the Lord's Prayer, for all the calls of the sick bed, so various and varying. And now the very mention of

[m] pp. 86, 87.

the Lord's Prayer suggests another, the highest of all sanctions, for thinking that our petitions may often be better suited to our needs, by adopting the same words in several associations, than if we were to provide ourselves with new forms of words. The principle of the rosary may be employed with good effect, among us as elsewhere; and especially, perhaps, in helping the devotions of the poor and unlettered. The instructing them in it may be as simple a way as any of helping them to mingle some meditation with their prayers. And (trivial as it may seem, we will venture the suggestion) why should not the fingers be used as a natural rosary, to help the memory and attention, in prayers thus made up of many parts, or in the several applications of the same prayer? in recalling, e.g. the names of those who are to be remembered in intercession?

It may seem, at first, inconsistent with the recommendation of calmness and monotony in devotional services, that so much should be said[n] in favour of extemporary preaching; but the experience of those ages and countries, which all would agree to call Catholic, is appealed to, and the appeal can hardly be resisted. It would appear that exact forms, and measured and musical devotions, prepare and brace men for free and energetic preaching, as soldiers are prepared and braced for single combat, when it shall be necessary, by the restraints of the drill, and of orderly manœuvring in masses. It may be that Mr. Monro has a little over-estimated the power of speaking without book, merely as such:—its effect, we mean, in touching and interesting the poor. Perhaps the frequenters of the House of Commons, and of our Courts of Law—sometimes even the attendants on extemporary sermons—might tell us that dulness is not seldom incident to that mode of oratory. Quite as often, we suspect, as to the other, in proportion to the number practising each. Perhaps, too, such a passage as the following, true as it undoubtedly is in its literal wording, might mislead eager persons endeavouring to act upon it.

[n] pp. 90—100.

"Any conscious gulf or distance between them [the poor] and their moral teachers at once repels them, drives them off, and makes them feel they are not standing on level ground. The general that will gain the sympathy and confidence of his troops, must sleep with the private soldier, and share with him the rough food of the campaign; the latter will then realize that he is commanded and addressed by one who speaks to him from a level ground, shares the same nature, and undergoes the same hardships. And the clergyman who will gain the trust and confidence of his people, must be as they are, and do as they do, shew he can suit himself to their understandings, their ways of expression, their ideas; must make them feel he is in earnest by appearing as one of them *."

Is there not here some danger of unreality? at least, would it not have been well to point out that some (we should say, not a few) overshoot the mark in this respect, speaking to their people, as nurses to children, in a way which savours of affectation, and which the people themselves discern to be unnatural? and they are not slow in such discernment. This, however, applies more to common discourse than to sermons. There is no harm just now in a little jealousy on this point. After all, the distinctions of learned and unlearned, clerical and lay, gentle and simple, are real distinctions, and the poor are most willing to recognise them. They feel it but an indifferent compliment, though in the way of amusement it may attract them, when one who is not as they are, makes believe to be so. Sympathy, true love and sympathy, taking trouble in all ways to do them good; and among other ways by plain and affectionate speech—*that*, of course, is what they want: it will not the less do its work, because the person feeling it is of another rank, provided he take no pains either to conceal or to shew that he is so.

Simplicity in this kind will need to be insisted on, according to present appearances, with a view to another class of teachers also: we allude to those who appear to be coming forward to our aid (not before they were wanted) from the middling and even from the lowest

* pp. 92, 93.

ranks of life. Most desirable it is that as many such as possible should receive proper training, and be ordained: but as in those just mentioned, we may apprehend a sort of affectation of "low life," so to these we should say, Do not be grand, do not be pompous, do not think it necessary to appear a scholar or a gentleman. Simplicity, in short, ought to be the watchword of both—nothing will quite make up for the want of it, among our English poor especially.

We have said this much by way of qualification, but in substance we quite agree with Mr. Monro, that preaching without book, where it may be well had, is most desirable: but why? because in order to be effective it must in general partake of that calmness and (almost) monotony, with which the Church in her services speaks to her people. For without calmness and self-possession, how can one have even plainness of speech? the sentences will surely become involved and unmeaning, the latter end of them will forget the beginning, and what becomes of edification then? But the earnest and sober inculcation of truths and practices acknowledged to be right will of itself savour of monotony: except so far as strong conviction and anxiety will from time to time force a person (as S. Paul says) to "change his voice:" and about this no man need trouble himself; if it ought to come, it will come unconsciously and naturally. A parent, advising his children for their good, does not trouble himself with rhetorical artifices. The drift of all this is, that as in reading or writing, so in preaching, that course is probably best for each person which most enables him to forget himself, and to think only of God, his hearers, and his subject: although we may allow the preference to the extemporal way.

Two great subjects remain, Sacraments and Ceremonies, and Education: to which heads may be reduced the greater part as yet untouched by us of this most interesting work. That of Education, including here Confirmation and First Communion, we must, however unwillingly, pass over *sicco pede*: though to the world at large it is so espe-

cially associated with the name of Mr. Monro, that omitting it would almost seem like leaving the spring out of the year. But our readers, we trust, will be all of them *his* readers also. They will find that he deals with boys as with men. Personal intercourse—the Priest's eye and heart—the never quite losing sight of anybody, or ceasing to sympathise with him :—this is the turning-point with him in the school as in the rest of the parish. The principal fault which we expect to have found with this part of the book especially, is its requiring too much. People will say, "Such things may be done at Harrow Weald—in some one or two instances, a person may be found who seems to be everywhere at once : but to us it is simply impossible." To all this the sufficient, and in some sort, comfortable and satisfactory answer will be, "Very true—the thing *is* impossible—just as perfect virtue is impossible —but only *try*, only *do your best*—after all, it is but one way of 'never ceasing your labour, your care and vigilance, until no room be left in your flock either for error in doctrine or for viciousness of life.' You are a soldier, and it is the heat of battle ; you cannot be at rest, but you may win a great reward. What is your reward ? Every soul that comes from under your forming hand, prepared by the grace of God for the sacramental life : every worthy and persevering communicant : nay more, every one, who, whatever may be his own sentence, will be constrained to own to the Judge, At least, it was not my Pastor's fault."

We are trespassing on ground rather too awful for our province : but the special matter to which we would now draw attention, is the Sacramentality (so to call it) of this system of Parochial Work, as being the special secret of its reality and success. By its Sacramentality, we mean its depending entirely on the means specially ordained by our Lord for commencing and nourishing our real participation of Him ; its using grace received in Baptism, and taking away all bars to the further grace of Holy Communion. In this system everything else is subordinate to these things. It takes for granted, from beginning to end, that its subjects are all of them in a supernatural

state, living among miracles, as the Jews were in the wilderness; and that all that happens to them, all they do, is proportionably ennobled and embased. Now, as the course and order of Moses' law was realized in the camp of Israel, so is this system realized in any parish obeying the Prayer-book in the manner here sketched out: and by such parishes, and the results upon them, is the Prayer-book to be judged of, not by what happens where its enactments are slighted, and its doctrinal definitions set aside at the will of aliens. It is no more reasonable to object to the system of the Prayer-book on account of what happens in such parishes, than it would be to object to the very Decalogue because the Israelites worshipped the calf. We want this to be well considered: we say, there is a reality, a substance, a harmony of parts, in Mr. Monro's sketches of Church work, which is utterly wanting in those views of the pastoral care, which leave out or extenuate the Sacramental element, as also in parishes attempted to be conducted on those views.

Admit the supernatural life of the baptized, as we state it, and all the portions of our Prayer-book, all our parochial doings will fall around it into their proper place: it is the key to the whole cypher, the screw which adjusts the whole machinery; deny it, and the whole, both of the Prayer-book and of the parish, is confusion; no two men will find their way in it alike. This appears to us a strong argument, both for the sacramental view itself, as being the intended view of God's Holy Spirit in His Church (if it be not irreverent for Christians to argue such a point on such grounds); and also for its being, most unequivocally, the view of the Church of England in her formularies. It is the only way to make sense of them, or to carry them out in practice. It brings along with it the same sense of reality, as compared with the popular and State view, which the great sceptic acknowledged to accompany certain common-sense notions, as compared with his own theory:—

"I dine," he says, "I play a game at backgammon, I converse, and am merry with my friends: and when I return to

these speculations, they appear so cold, so strained, and so ridiculous, that I cannot find it in my heart to enter into them any further[p]."

So it is, if men would but confess it to themselves, when they come back to real parochial work, from their Calvinistic or Puritan theories. This is acknowledged, in fact, by the patrons of such theories, some of them by station of high authority, when they enforce the necessity of treating all the congregation as regenerate, though in the same breath they allow it to be affirmed that their regeneration is merely hypothetical. Common sense is in this instance too strong for their consistency.

But if this be so, then it is evident that the concessions to Puritanism, on which many are disposed to rely as proving the unreality of the English Church, are in fact entirely alien to her. They are defects in discipline, not in doctrine. They touch her well-being, not her being. Sinful connivance they may prove; they never can prove formal heresy. And in this way such pictures of the English system of work as this volume contains, may have a deep providential use just at present, over and above their moral evidence: they shew that the Catholic interpretation of our formularies is that which most strengthens our hands, and causes all the means in our power to act together most effectually and easily. A sensible, dispassionate observer will recognise here the right interpretation, no less certainly than a ripe and good scholar in a language does the true grammatical construction of a sentence.

For remaining differences between us and the like principles as developed in other countries, Mr. Monro would in good measure account from differences of national manners and character. He may have laid rather too much stress on this: we will not now enter into that question, but undoubtedly, in such measure as it *is* well-grounded, it is a good point in corroboration of our English theory.

[p] Hume, as quoted by Bishop Horne, Works, iv. 334, ed. 1818.

In dubiis libertas: of two systems, *that* is the more Catholic which in such things gives freer scope to the varieties of country and race. And it will be found, perhaps, that our English theory does this as compared with the Roman: we do not say, our system received in practice, fettered as it is, and benumbed in every joint and organ, by the cold, cruel, unbelieving State; but we are speaking of our theory and principles, which, if ever by God's merciful interposition we are left free to carry them out, will prove themselves, we are persuaded, far more elastic and powerful, more applicable to all men in all their needs, than most of us have any idea of.

Let men say what they will, the Prayer-book has really done its work in our country parishes to a wonderful extent, considering all things. And O, that the Bishops and Clergy of England would throw themselves in faith upon it, in this moment of our agony! It is not for us to dictate, or even to suggest: but even concerning our superiors there are thoughts which *will* at times force their way out; and we have read of "a little maid," who in love and faith spoke out her wish, and it was blessed to the healing of a leper, and the conversion of "a mighty man in valour." We too will speak out our wish: and it is this—that our Bishops did but know how entirely sacramental (generally speaking) is the religion of our country congregations, so far as it is sincere: how utterly, with the ordinary sort, the "Evangelical" movement, (so to call it,) has failed. It is all very well to point to good persons of one's acquaintance, and say, "See here, or see there; what excellent fruits have grown upon the stock which you decry;" but surely the tendency of a system must be judged of by its results upon the ordinary and average sort. A few very good persons may not be the worse for "Low-Churchmanship:" (although who can say how far their goodness may be due to sacred things which they seem to undervalue, more, however, in word than in heart?) but —we say it without fear of effectual contradiction—whoever comes with an unbiassed mind to a parish where these views have had sway, will find that with the gene-

rality the effect has been simply immoral, except so far as it has been assuaged by constant use of the Prayer-book, i.e. by the sacramental principle so far lingering among them. Because, whatever be men's purity and sincerity, if there be an Antinomian element in their teaching, there is always one at hand who knows how to make the most of it: and if a zealous self-denying Clergyman, blinded so far by hereditary prejudice, or by misapplied logic, or by some other human infirmity, says to a man, "Your Baptism may have been only a form;" the interpreter in question will presently suggest the thought, "I am not then perhaps in a supernatural state and relation; I am not in possession of any special inward privileges; my sins, for aught I know, or my neglects of duty, have no particular tendency to 'quench the Spirit;' of course they are bad, but not so very bad: it is not the case of the unclean spirit returning." We know too well, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, what the end of such a process as this will be.

Well, this experiment has been tried on a large scale in our parishes now for two or three generations; and the result is, as we have said, that devout and thoughtful Churchmen have been thrown back more and more on the literal meaning of the Prayer-book, as their only safeguard against a most fatal self-deceit. For themselves and for others, they have been made to feel, more deeply as their experience has been more abundant, how greatly this security is needed, and how very thankful they ought to be, that our trumpet in this matter gives no uncertain sound, how frequently soever unfaithful or ignorant watchmen may decline to give it utterance. Now, there is not in all the land one such as we have now described, who is not prepared, consciously or unconsciously, with all his heart to welcome and support any measure which our Fathers in Christ may think proper to take, for the effectual disavowal of the false doctrine which an intrusive Court has just sanctioned, overbearing the Courts of the Church. For instance; if the many Bishops who have expressed concurrence, so far as doctrine goes, with ad-

dresses deprecating that decision, would openly declare themselves resolved, as no doubt they are resolved, to refuse institution to any one notoriously holding that doctrine; such a declaration would awaken and attract, far and near, sympathies which they dream not of: and would reassure the hearts of hundreds, who are even now fainting for want of it; scarce knowing whom to trust, or what to believe. Or if such declaration were thought unadvisable, as bidding what might seem premature defiance to the civil power; at least a well-considered statement of their Lordships' own judgment might be put forth in the nature of a Pastoral Letter, implying that there should be a limit *somewhere* to the range of hypothetical interpretation. Anything, we had almost said, (and we believe it to be next to an axiom for the due discharge of the Pastoral care in all cases,) anything is better than the mere ignoring of difficulties, and professing not to see why people are disturbed.

On the other hand, we cannot conceal it from ourselves, that if representations such as we have now indicated to our spiritual superiors ultimately fail, and the "ignoring" system be left to produce, far and wide, its natural results —tempting many to defection and unbelief, and wounding the hearts which, by God's mercy, will not be tempted—it will not be the fault of one order only in the Church: the parochial Clergy will have to bear, it may be, the largest share of the burthen; for how can they expect the Bishops to have faith in the Prayer-book, and to trust the Christian people as having it, when they have it not themselves? We speak what we know of our own knowledge, when we affirm that in an average rural parish, whoever will have the patience to explain to the communicants of his flock the true meaning of the doctrine which is now disturbing us, and the kind of authority by which it is enforced, will find a very general consent, and by no means an unintelligent one, in any reasonable and temperate remonstrance which he may see fit to address to those who are set over him. He will find that few parents are content to be taught, or to have their children taught, that

infants carried out of church after Baptism are, for aught we know, in no better a spiritual condition than when they were brought in. He will find that few religious and thoughtful Englishmen love to have their most solemn services associated with all sorts of sophistical evasions, and the elementary instruction of their children so worded, as to require from beginning to end a set of notes and illustrations, explaining it away. He will find few persons of common sense (supposing them always to have *some* sense of religion) who will think it wise and good to leave people open to contradictory teachings with equal authority on an article of the Creed which bears immediately on every moment of their daily life. Those, even, who cannot read, will tell him at once,—and, as one used to their ways, he will feel sure of their telling him true,—that they understand the case, are shocked at the oppression, and abhor the false doctrine. As he goes up and down the village street, he will be accosted by persons anxious on the subject, wanting to know what they can do, or whether the truth is likely "to win the day." One man will say, "Our Lord bade children come to Him; He did not say, Bring some, and leave the rest." Perhaps some aged person, trembling with eagerness even more than with years, will half whisper as she makes her mark, "To think that this should have been taught so many hundred years, and now they be for doing of it away!" Another will ask, "If they don't believe this, whatever *can* they believe?" Here and there, one more thoughtful than the rest will report that "he has been looking in the Prayer-book and Testament," and as far as he can make out of what he finds there, "if it be as this new teaching says, why did our Saviour die? surely He must have died in vain." One who knows better than the rest what contrition and confession are, may remark, with an anxious look, "If this be so, I don't see how poor wretches be ever to get out of it:" meaning distinctly, that such dealing with Baptism shakes the foundation of the doctrine of Penitence also. And should there happen to be there one leavened with another doctrine, the chances are that while

he declines joining in remonstrance, he will frankly own that there is a grievance for all who love the Prayer-book: "for surely these sayings tear the Prayer-book to pieces."

Experience tells us, that where the Prayer-book has been but fairly allowed to have its own way, the impression on the mind of a congregation of the average sort will be such as has been above exemplified: now what hinders, but that English priests should employ themselves, at such a time as this, not only in fixing and deepening such holy traces, and in getting their people to act consistently with them, but in reporting them also, by signed memorials or otherwise, to the Chief Shepherds, with distinct intimation how keen and vivid the feeling is, and how impossible it must be, that so believing we can ever be contented to give up the security which we have hitherto enjoyed against being disturbed in that faith?

It seems due both to our Bishops and our Laity, that we make them mutually aware of what is going on—that we "suffer not things to pass away as in a dream."

The strength of the Church now, as in all times, must be in the poor of the flock—taking that phrase in its widest extent and meaning; and our best chance of prevailing, that is to say, of not losing our hold on the consciences of the people of the land, must be, to throw ourselves unreservedly on those whom the Scripture so designates: or rather, through them on their Lord. Let us take with us first to our heavenly Father the hearts and prayers of the devout and poor people, by solemn and special intercession: e.g. by occasional or regular use of the Litany, "For the Church of England in her present distress," on Wednesdays and Fridays in the early morning. Then let us take with us the same hearts and prayers, with the blessing which we trust they will have received, to our Spiritual Fathers on earth, and make them understand that neither they nor we can have rest—in a homely phrase, "they will never hear the last of it,"—until the Church's liberty be asserted, and her doctrine vindicated. As occasion shall require, let us tell them,

boldly or gently, that much as we may value the so-called protection of the State, we love the Truth of Christ and the souls of His redeemed, more; and that we earnestly hope the day will soon come, when they, our Bishops, shall discern what to us is palpable already, that the Church's temporal privileges and endowments would be well parted with, if need be, for liberty to confirm her own Bishops, to declare her own doctrines, to enforce, vary, or repeal her own spiritual canons, and to grant or withhold participation in her own Sacraments. These are the four points, so to speak, of the Church's charter, in regard of which she is now grievously wronged; not, we will hope, by intention of any statesman or party, so much as by the unforeseen result of enactments made on other grounds. Still, the effect is what it is—oppression and profaneness —and now it seems as if we must add heresy also. For obtaining redress on these four points, we have sometimes wished that we could bind ourselves one to another, as in former days, by a holy Catholic League: if, indeed, we be not already bound enough by our baptismal vow of faith, and some of us by engagements at Ordination. At any rate, it is a work to which we cannot address ourselves too solemnly; there must be no hurry, no impatience; we may take a lesson from those who lie in ambush, from the deer-stalker, or the angler; determined to bide our time, be it never so tedious, but equally dedetermined to lose no chance of striking.

We seem to have wandered very far from Mr. Monro, and, indeed, when we commenced this article, we had no thought of touching on such unquiet matters; but the truth is, they meet us at every turn; our spiritual, our pastoral, our parochial life hangs, as it were, in doubt before us, "until this tyranny be overpast." And with deep misgivings of conscience we perceive and acknowledge, that the whole danger and mischief is due, among other sins, to our own and our forefathers' neglect of parochial work—of parochial work on high sacramental principles, such as this volume is designed to recommend and exemplify. The remedy is obvious; but it is manifold, and we must

have long patience for it. With patience, and the blessing of God, it cannot fail. So much the heavier will their burthen be, who shall mar it by fretfulness on the one hand, or by apathy on the other. Alas! it is what too many seem prepared to do. We wish them no severer penance, we can hardly wish them a more pointed and effective warning, than the careful perusal of Mr. Monro's work. May it be blessed in every way; by shewing the discontented how much there is worth working for, and by stimulating the easy and self-satisfied, not just to the very exertions here detailed—for no two Clergymen, no two parishes are exactly like another:—but to faithful and religious industry, each in his own place, and in his own line! That course is the likeliest to tell upon the age, in preserving the outward framework of the English Church: and what is more, it is morally sure to tell upon Eternity in saving souls.

ON THE PROPER MEANING OF THE TERM, "THE LORD'S SUPPER,"

In St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians.

ON considering the notices of the Holy Communion direct and incidental, which may be found in the New Testament, it appears to be called by four several names. The first and simplest is that which describes it by the formal outward action most conspicuous in it i.e. the breaking of bread, ἡ κλάσις τοῦ ἀρτοῦ. This is apparently the term which St. Luke especially preferred in speaking of it. He employs it twice in the Acts of the Apostles; first, where it is mentioned as a distinguishing token of the Church or Kingdom of Heaven, newly set up by the descent of the Holy Ghost on the Disciples—"They continued stedfastly," as "in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship," so also, "ἐν τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου[a]." Again, he describes the Sunday services of the Church at Troas, and in a manner which implies that the same was usual in other Churches, by saying, that "the disciples came together to break bread." It may be that this, being the simplest account of the ceremony, was naturally chosen as the fittest way of speaking of it, before strangers and uninitiated persons who were more likely to read historical than doctrinal books. At all events, as the Acts is the only book in which the Holy Communion is expressly thus denominated, so St. Luke in his Gospel uses the same phrase, "breaking of bread[b]," in so significant a manner, that one can scarce avoid imagining the Communion to have been then also in his mind. Our Lord, meaning at last to reveal Himself to the two disciples at Emmaus, "took the bread" which had been set before them, and "blessed, and brake, and gave it to them[c];" and their eyes were opened, and they knew Him, and He vanished

[a] Acts ii. 42. [b] Ib. xx. 7. [c] St. Luke xxiv. 30.

out of their sight." Presently, on joining the rest of the disciples, they told what things were done in the way, and how He was made known unto them, *ἐν τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου*[d]. Surely the repetition of the Sacramental action with so many Sacramental words, has a significancy of its own. It guides to the high lesson conveyed by the whole narrative, that our Lord is everywhere among us, going about, holding secret intercourse with His disciples; and that those, who are found worthy, will ever know and recognise Him more particularly in that "breaking of bread," which He Himself ordained.

The second Scriptural title of the Holy Communion is, "the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ:" which title describes the Sacrament by its inward part, as the other by its outward and visible sign. This we find distinctly used in 1 Cor. x. 16, 17—"The cup of Blessing which we," (the Ministers of our Lord,) "bless, is it not the Communion of the Blood of Christ? The bread which we break," &c. This was perhaps a denomination as appropriate for Christians' use, one among another, as the former, when they were in the hearing of unbelievers. In one or two places it may be thought that *κοινωνία* simply is used, as Communion among us, to denote the Sacrament, as in Heb. xiii. 16, *τῆς εὐποιΐας καὶ κοινωνίας μὴ ἐπιλανθάνεσθε*, in which it appears not unlikely that the Apostle is making especial reference to the contribution of alms, *εὐποιΐα*, which preceded, and to the participation of the blessed Elements, *κοινωνία*, which followed, the Service of consecration. For of that Service, in all probability, the preceding verse is to be understood—"by Him let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is the fruit of lips giving thanks unto His Name"—the sacrifice of praise, i.e. the Eucharistical sacrifice, the same which is called "the Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving" in that Oblation Prayer of our Church which follows immediately on participation of the Sacrament. The use, I say, of the word *κοινωνία* in this connection, is somewhat of a reason for thinking that it was, even then, a term appropriate to the Holy Mysteries.

[d] St. Luke xxiv. 35.

The third Scriptural name of this Sacrament is *εὐχαριστία*, Eucharist, or Thank-offering, which originally meant the loving acknowledgment of God's glory and mercies, which preceded the offering of the holy bread and wine, and of which we only retain the short angelical hymn, prefaced by, "It is very meet," &c. In calling this a Scriptural name for the Communion, I allude of course most particularly to the well-known passage in 1 Cor. xiv. *ἐὰν εὐλογήσῃς τῷ πνεύματι, ὁ ἀναπληρῶν τὸν τόπον τοῦ ἰδιώτου πῶς ἐρεῖ τὸ ἀμὴν ἐπὶ τῇ σῇ εὐχαριστίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ τί λέγεις οὐκ οἶδε;* i.e. He who (in church) fills the layman's place, (the distinction being already made between those within and without the Altar, the clergy in one part of the holy building, and the laity in another,) how shall the layman utter the Amen at the end of the Consecration Prayer, or great Thanksgiving, such as thou offerest it[e]? Thus St. Chrysostom expounds the place; and thus it would, I suppose, be expounded by anyone who was versed in the language of the old Liturgies, and had no prejudice to make him prefer a different exposition; the word *εὐλογήσῃς*, as well as *εὐχαριστία* especially calling attention that way. This being so, it is not unlikely that *εὐχαριστία* in 1 Tim. ii. 1, has the same meaning also. Its connection stands thus: 'As I besought thee, Timothy, to abide still at Ephesus, so I commit unto thee this present charge; and the very first thing which I exhort is, that supplications (*δεήσεις*), prayers (*προσευχὰς*), intercessions (*ἐντεύξεις*), and giving of thanks (*εὐχαριστίας*), be made for all men, especially for kings and all who are in authority.' He is directing a bishop about the public service of the Church, as about that which ought first of all to engage his attention; and he mixes up *ἐντεύξεις* with *εὐχαριστίας* for all men, and especially for kings, in such a way as they were not blended in any Service but the ancient Liturgies. There we know they are so blended, in the long address which forms the *εὐχαριστία*, because it opens with an acknowledgment of all the mercies of the Holy Trinity, from the foundation of the world. Then follows *εὐλογία*, as blessing and consecrating, in Christ's Name,

[e] St. Chrys. Hom. xxxv.; 1 Cor. xiv. 17.

the holy bread and wine to be the symbols[f] of His Body and Blood; and lastly, ἔντευξις, as expressing those holy symbols to be offered up for all ranks and degrees of the faithful, whether in this world or in Paradise. In short, this passage, if taken as an enumeration of the parts of the Liturgical Service, answers very well to what we actually find in the genuine ancient Liturgies, and therefore may probably be understood as an ordinance for framing them.

Two other places there are in which the word εὐχαριστία is used, which may be thought capable of a like interpretation. "In every thing, by that prayer and supplication which is with thanksgiving, (μετ' εὐχαριστίας) let your requests be made known unto God[g]." The combination of the three would naturally turn people's thoughts to that Service, which was the great and then, perhaps, almost the daily, instrument of communion between God and them. Again, to the Ephesians St. Paul writes, "Let not things be named among you[h]" which are not convenient, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εὐχαριστία—rather such acknowledgment of God's mercies as may harmonize, not unfitly, with that most sacred and solemn acknowledgment which the Church makes daily in the Holy Communion. Thus paraphrased, the verse seems to answer not amiss to what occurs a few verses further on, where, if I mistake not, is another real but covert allusion to the Holy Mysteries: "Be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess, but πληροῦσθε ἐν πνεύματι, speaking to one another," &c., "singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord," εὐχαριστοῦντες πάντοτε ὑπὲρ πάντων, ἐν ὀνόματι τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Πατρί[i]. Here, if we suppose πληροῦσθε ἐν Πνεύματι to refer to the ancient Liturgical petition—"Send Thine Holy Spirit upon us Thy servants, and upon these our gifts now lying before Thee," as our Lord in His Institution (so speaks St. James' Liturgy) blessed the Cup, and filled it with the Holy Ghost, we may, of course, refer what comes after to the angelical and seraphical hymn which formed part of their

[f] For examples of the use of the word "symbols" by ancient writers, see "The Doctrine of the Real Presence," from the Fathers, by E. B. Pusey, D.D., pp. 98, 99, 107, 109, &c.

[g] Philipp. iv. 6. [h] Eph. v. 3, 4. [i] Ib., ver. 20.

eucharistical Service, as of ours. And the general thanksgiving (*εὐχαριστοῦντες ὑπὲρ πάντων*) last mentioned will be understood to be that so often mentioned in this paper, as prefacing the consecration in all the ancient Churches. Now, just as *πληροῦσθε τῷ Πνεύματι* is opposed in this place to drunkenness, so is *εὐχαριστία*, in the beginning of the chapter, to bad words; it is conceivable, then, that the second plea as well as the first may relate to the Holy Communion; and that both may be intimating, rather than expressing, the peculiar danger and horrible madness and guilt of communicants so forgetting their privileges. It is no new thing for him to urge topics of that kind as most effectual for enforcing purity and other duties; for example, "Know ye not that your bodies are the members of Christ; shall I then take the members of Christ and make them the members of an harlot[k];" and again, "We being many are one bread[l];" and again, to enforce the duty of ungrudging sympathy with one another, he says, "By one Spirit we have been all baptized into one Body, and have been all made to drink into one Spirit[m]." These places may suffice to make it credible that St. Paul may, in fact, be speaking of the Eucharist, where he seems, at first sight, to be speaking but of an ordinary thanksgiving. And, on the whole, we may consider *εὐχαριστία* as a scriptural term for the Holy Communion, the whole Service being denominated from one most solemn and essential part of it,—the Church's Thank-offering to the Father for all things, in behalf of all men, and in the Name of Jesus Christ.

Of these three names, then, for the most aweful Sacrament of the Law of Christ, one, "the breaking of Bread," is not in use among us; the other two, "the Eucharist," and "the Holy Communion," are; the latter being moreover sanctioned by our own Church in the Prayer-book: but the title by which that great Sacrament is commonly called among us, and which the Prayer-book, on the whole, seems to prefer, is that of "the Lord's Supper." And a hasty English reader would, of course, add this as a fourth Scriptural title; it seems so clearly, at first sight or sound, to be

[k] 1 Cor. vi. 15. [l] Ibid. x. 17. [m] Ibid. xii. 13.

used of the Communion in that celebrated passage, "When ye come together into one place, this is not to eat the Lord's Supper[n]." But in what remains of this paper, I shall offer a few brief reasons why the Lord's Supper, in that place, cannot well be understood to mean the sacramental Feast of the Holy Communion itself.

1. The form of the Apostle's expression, *συνερχομένων ὑμῶν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ, οὐκ ἐστὶ κυριακὸν δεῖπνον φαγεῖν*, implies that they came together for a certain purpose which their proceedings directly contradicted. What they called eating the Lord's Supper was, in fact, eating their own supper. But the time and occasion, on which they were accused of doing so, could not have been the actual receiving of the Holy Communion; because we know, by our Lord's Institution and the universal custom of antiquity, that the Sacred Elements were always, as now, distributed by the Apostles to the multitude—by "the stewards of the mysteries of God" to the laity. It was just as impossible then, as it is now, that persons should press forward and take, one before another, his own portion of the most Holy Things, or that any one should take more than the priest or bishop gave him. The confusion, therefore, and selfishness which took from the *κυριακὸν δεῖπνον* that name, occurred, not at the receiving of the Holy Communion itself, but rather, as I need hardly specify, at the *ἀγαπὴ*, or feast of charity which followed it. It was the feast of charity, not the Communion itself, which would in some sense have been *a* Lord's Supper, if it had not been for such ill-behaviour. To the feast of charity, therefore, and not to the Holy Communion, is the name of "the Lord's Supper" given in this place, if indeed it properly belongs to either of the two.

2. This view seems to be, on the whole, confirmed both by the commentaries of the ancients on the passage, and by their phraseology generally in speaking of the Holy Communion. St. Chrysostom e.g. among commentators, stating the occasion of the Apostle's remonstrance here, says:—

"When the solemn Service *was completed, after* the Communion of the Mysteries, they all went to a common entertainment, the

[n] 1 Cor. xi. 20.

rich bringing their provisions with them, and the poor and destitute being invited by them, and all feasting in common. But afterward this custom also became corrupt[o]."

Observe, it was altogether the feast of charity, not at all the Eucharistical Service, in which the corruption lay. This is St. Chrysostom's general statement; and when he comes to the particular verse in which the Lord's Supper is named, his remark is[p]:—

"Here St. Paul adds the very form of the offence. 'The appearance of your assembly,' saith he, 'is one of love and brotherly affection. At least, one place receives you all, and you are altogether in one flock. But the banquet, when you come to that, bears no resemblance to the assembly of worshippers.' And he said not, 'When ye come together, this is not to eat in common, this is not to feast with one another;' but otherwise again, and much more fearfully, he reprimands them, saying, 'This is not to eat the Lord's Supper;' sending them away now from this point to that evening, on which Christ delivered the aweful Mysteries. Therefore also he called the early meal 'a supper.'"

Thus he speaks on the 20th verse, and on the 21st he says[q]:—

"Here St. Paul explains how what they did was not to eat the Lord's Supper; that which is the Lord's they make a private matter. . . . Because the Lord's Supper, i.e. the Master's, ought to be common; for the property of the Master belongs not to this servant without belonging to that, but in common to all. So that by the Lord's Supper he expresses this, the Community of the feast. As if he had said, 'If it be thy Master's, as assuredly it is, thou oughtest not to withdraw it as private, but as belonging to thy Lord and Master, to set it in common before all. For this is the meaning of the Lord's. But now thou dost not suffer it to be the Lord's, not suffering it to be common, but feasting by thyself.'"

Again, on the 22nd verse he says[r]:—

"Here now you see is yet a fourth accusation, when not the poor only but the Church likewise is insulted. For even as thou makest the Lord's Supper a private meal, so also the place again, using the Church as a house."

[o] 1 Cor. xi. 17; Hom. xxvii. [p] St. Chrys., Hom. xxvii.; 1 Cor. xi. 20.
[q] Ibid. ver. 21. [r] Ibid. ver. 22.

Then, proceeding to the 23rd verse, he asks, "Why doth the Apostle here make mention of the Mysteries?" which single question is sufficient to shew that by the term "Lord's Supper," which had been mentioned before, he did not consider the Mysteries to be denoted; and the mode in which he answers himself proves the same more at large, and shews how much meaning we should lose if we adopted the other interpretation. "Why doth the Apostle here make mention of the Mysteries?" Because that argument was very necessary to his present purpose—

"As, then, thy Master," saith he, "counted all worthy of the same table, though it be very and most exceedingly aweful, and far exceeding the dignity of all; but thou considerest them to be unworthy even of thine own, small and mean as we see it is [s]."

This may, perhaps, be enough to shew that St. Chrysostom understood by the Lord's Supper something different from the Holy Communion. The whole drift of his argument, or rather of St. Paul's, as explained by him, being, that such ill behaviour at the Feast of Charity, just after the Holy Communion, gave just reason to fear that men had not come with charitable and reverent hearts to the Holy Communion itself. It is the more remarkable that Suicer, in his Lexicon, (v. *δεῖπνον*,) should say, "No one can read this part of St. Chrysostom's Commentary without seeing that he understood *κυριακὸν δεῖπνον* of the Holy Eucharist itself." But this is not the only place in which Suicer's prejudices seem to have warped his critical judgment.

To add a few more testimonies from the Fathers. Tertullian speaks of the Christian Supper as if the name was confined to the *ἀγαπὴ*, which he could hardly have done, had he understood it here of the Mysteries. "Cœna nostra de nomine rationem qui ostendit. Id vocatur quod dilectio penes Græcos est." He then goes on to specify the advantage which the poor obtained by it; he describes the order and process of it, in a manner inconsistent with the idea of its including the sacred Eucharist.

Again, the author of the Commentary ascribed to St.

[s] St. Chrys., Hom. xxvii.; 1 Cor. xi. 24.

Ambrose, supposed by some to be Hilary the Deacon, contemporary with St. Augustine, says on this place, "St. Paul shews thence, that the Mystery of the Eucharist, though celebrated in the course of His Supper, is not itself a Supper[t]."

But, the circumstance most remarkable to our purpose seems to be that, often as the ancients speak of the Holy Communion, it is very rarely, if ever, that they speak of it as the Lord's Supper; whereas the instances are innumerable in which it is called the Eucharist, or the Communion; as any one may satisfy himself by a glance at one of the indices to the larger editions of the Fathers. Thus the word "Eucharistia" in the Benedictine Index to St. Augustine stands at the head of three closely-printed columns; whereas the term "Cœna Domini," as applied to the Sacrament, takes up but eight lines. Now it does not seem likely, if the early Church had considered the Lord's Supper as the proper Scriptural name assigned by St. Paul to this Sacrament, that they would thus have avoided it on almost all occasions.

The principal apparent exceptions to this statement, as far as I know, are the following. St. Augustine, in his fifty-fourth Epistle, replying to the question, whether, on Maundy Thursday an exception should be made to the general rule of receiving the Communion fasting, on account of its having been after supper when our Lord Himself instituted It, says that the cup after supper might mean, after their receiving His Body; "for," (so he goes on,) "the Apostle elsewhere says, When ye come together into one place, it is not to eat the Lord's Supper; hanc ipsam acceptionem Eucharistiæ Dominicam cœnam vocans." Now, in the first place, this shews, at least, that its being called the Lord's Supper was a rare thing in St. Augustine's time; else it would not be necessary for him to argue from a verse in St. Paul, that it might so be called. Next, what is the meaning of "hanc ipsam acceptionem Eucharistiæ?" If the argument be well examined, those words will be found to signify, "that original participation of the first Eucharist

[t] In S. Ambrosii Opp. ii. 149, App.

at our Lord's hand by the Apostles." That was properly called the Lord's Supper; and of that, St. Augustine says (and not of the standing Communion and renewal of it) St. Paul was speaking, when he wrote the phrase, "Cœnam Dominicam." To understand which, we shall do well to revert to St. Paul's original words, *οὐκ ἐστὶ κυριακὸν δεῖπνον φαγεῖν*, (and not *τὸ κυριακὸν δεῖπνον*,) which it ought perhaps to have been, had it meant the Eucharist itself. As the words stand, would not the more correct interpretation be, 'when you come together it is not to eat *a Supper of the Lord*?' such a supper as He then ate with His disciples; for He, according to St. Chrysostom, as above quoted, made His Feast common even to the Traitor; whereas you deny yours even to the Brethren. In other words, your supper of charity is not, as it ought to be, a "Cœna Domini," not a common Supper, such as that first Eucharist which Christ gave to His Apostles. If St. Augustine understood this to be St. Paul's meaning, he might very well go on and argue from it, as he does, that, "after Supper," in the words of Institution, *might* mean only after the Eucharistical bread, and therefore, *alone*, would be no authority for breaking the usual fast before Communicating on that Thursday.

However, there are tolerably clear places in the Ecclesiastical writers of the fourth century for calling the Holy Communion the Lord's Supper; such as where St. Basil, alleging the Apostle's reproof, "Have ye not houses to eat and to drink in?" says, "we are instructed, thereby, neither to eat and drink our ordinary supper in a church, nor to disparage the Lord's Supper by unnecessary use in a house[u]." But this place does not prove that the writer understood *κυριακὸν δεῖπνον* in St. Paul to mean the Eucharist; it only shews that he himself used the phrase in that meaning. Theodoret and Pelagius, who were about sixty years later than St. Basil, seem to be the first commentators who so expounded the Apostle. Throughout that time, the term "Cœna Domini" was understood, *in its proper sense*, of that Supper only which our Lord celebrated the night before His Passion; and sometimes, by

[u] Regul. brevius tract., resp. 310, Opp. ii. 525, Ben.

a figure, of the anniversary of that celebration. Being so confined in its ecclesiastical use, it would have bred confusion to have applied it commonly to the Eucharist itself.

In addition to which, in the earlier ages, when a supper was mentioned, the ἀγαπὴ was necessarily thought of; and this might produce additional ambiguity. This did not however hinder, but that the word δεῖπνα might be used with such epithets as φρικτὰ, μυστικὰ, and the like, very frequently in speaking of the Communion. But as a regular theological phrase, I conceive it to be of much later date.

We come, then, to this remarkable result—that, as in the case of the Lord's Day, so also in that of the Holy Communion, the denominations, which have been deliberately selected, and are commonly used, by those theologians who profess to be most afraid of deviating from the letter of Scripture, are neither of them, in fact, Scriptural. As the first day of the week is nowhere called the Sabbath, so neither is the Holy Communion called the Lord's Supper, in the inspired writers. Not that this latter name need, in the least, be objected to. It has been adopted by our own Church in her formularies; it is edifying, as drawing our minds towards one material part of the nature of the Sacrament, and to the history of its institution; and it is not, as we have seen, without respectable authority in antiquity. Our Church, too, is providentially clear of the irreverence which many of the Reformers fell into, in calling it simply *Sacramentum Cœnæ*, without adding the word *Dominicæ*.

The Name, therefore, of the Lord's Supper we may continue to use with all reverence; but, it will be well to remember that this Sacrament has other names, as Scriptural at least, and with more sanction from antiquity; to which, if we would ever come to adequate notions of it, we must direct some serious attention. And perhaps there may be some of them, such as Eucharist and Communion in particular, with which not the Clergy only, but every considerate Christian, should be made familiar.

THE CHARACTER AND HISTORY OF SOLOMON,

With a View Especially to the Question of His Final Penitence.

IT may seem at first sight as if the instruction which may be gleaned from the history of Solomon, important as all must allow it to be, lay quite on the surface of Scripture, too obvious to require express statement or careful bringing out on the part of expositors: at least, where they have to do with educated and considerate people. That the deliberate choice of wisdom, practical wisdom, should be encouraged by a large share of other and minor blessings also, and the whole be turned to account, according to the way of the Most High, for such a work as the building of the Temple; that the abundance, however, of these blessings should prove too potent a snare even for one so highly favoured; that prosperity should breed sensuality, and sensuality practical irreligion, and so not only the greatest but the wisest also of men become a warning rather than an example to all generations of the Church:—all this, it might be thought and said, is not so far out of the common course. This, he who runs may read; and more than this we need not and cannot ascertain; except indeed as matter of history, interesting to the lover of antiquity, but not so immediately within the province of the Christian divine.

But not to dwell on the possible danger of lightness and irreverence in resting contented with what appears to us the obvious meaning of an inspired moral lesson, and fancying we knew it all before; whereby many are led to turn from the most aweful revelations of God's will as

from mere truisms, of which they are half impatient to be reminded:—not to dwell on this, those who read the Old Testament by the light reflected on it from the New, will consider that Solomon was not merely a wise and rich and great king, but also that he was the Son of David, the King of Israel, a link and most important one in that mysterious chain, whereby He who is the end of the Old Testament was, as it were, visibly and sacramentally connected with its earliest beginning: one of that holy succession, which prepared on earth the way of Christ and His Church. Now it is evidently enough indicated in the Christian Scriptures, and clearly set forth in the early ecclesiastical writers, that all the members of that succession,—all the great and holy men of the Patriarchal and Jewish times,—more especially those whose names occur in the genealogy of our Lord,—those who held either of the anointed offices of Priest, King, or Prophet, and those who had eminent parts to accomplish in the great providential scheme or mystery of godliness:—it is evident, I say, from Scripture and Antiquity, that all such are to be considered in other aspects besides the literal and historical. Not unto themselves, but unto us they were ministering the things which were afterwards made known by the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven. Their free-will and personal responsibility being kept entire, their proceedings were nevertheless so divinely overruled, as that all should be, in their respective lines, shadows, examples, types, of the great Anointed One, in Whom it was the Father's will one day to sum up all things: of Whose Person and office, therefore, all former things would one day prove to have been so many partial developments.

Again: if they were types of Christ, they were also types of His Church; by the law of that intimate communion which joins the Head to the members, the living to Him Who is their life. Thus all Israel was a type of the Lord Jesus; their coming out of Egypt in the infancy of their nation prefigured our Lord in His childhood going up from thence; and again, it was also a plain

undoubted shadow of the deliverance of Christ's people everywhere from the bondage of the world and the devil. Thus the Psalms,—however in their first meaning they might seem to respect David only, and in their second and principal one the spiritual David, our Lord,—have yet ever been understood and used as God's good gift to His Church, for expressing in words wherewith He will be well pleased whatever she as the body of Christ would most desire to have said to her God, both for herself and for each of her members, in all her trials and combats, during this her exile. David's words are in such sort the words of the Church as well as of Christ, that we may not doubt Him to have been an intended type of both. It will be assumed in the following enquiry that the same principle may be carried throughout the History of the Old Testament: that Solomon, therefore, among the other persons on whom God's seal is there set, represented not only Christ, but the Church, in some one or more of her many aspects and relations.

But before proceeding to consider him in that light, it may be well to point out some special providences, traceable in the course of his early history, whereby the Holy Spirit would seem to draw the attention of believers to him more particularly. So that even one who doubted the universality of the rule just given, might still be inclined to allow it in this case.

First, Solomon is one of the few whose persons, and the part they were to perform in the œconomy of God's Kingdom, were marked out by prophecy before ever they were born; therein resembling Isaac and Jacob alone in the preceding part of the sacred genealogy, Josiah alone afterwards, Sampson and Cyrus being out of that mysterious line. By which it appears that in two cases only was an unborn child especially the subject: either when some great and definite consolation was to be provided for God's people in a condition else apparently hopeless; or when it pleased God to make an election among brethren whose claims might otherwise come into mutual competition. The latter, the case of an election, was the

case of two Patriarchs, and of Solomon. And we are expressly told in Holy Scripture, that the preference of him among the sons of David was typical of the sanctification or anointing of the only, the well-beloved Son to be Head of God's people. For the Epistle to the Hebrews informs us that the words, "I will be to Him a Father, and He shall be to Me a Son," which were first spoken to David concerning Solomon, do in fact refer, principally and literally, to our Lord.

Another providential circumstance, worthy of note as indicating the close analogy between the birth of this son of David and former types of our Lord's coming, is their being in each instance the reward of the piety of those who went before them in the sacred line of God's Kingdom, yet in each instance ushered in by dispensations trying and disappointing at first. Thus the birth of Isaac was the seal of God's favour vouchsafed to his father's exemplary faith; yet it was not without a pang that Abraham gave up his wish and prayer, that Ishmael might have lived before God. Isaac's patience and quietness of spirit was rewarded by God's mercy to Jacob; but Isaac had longed to bless Esau, and it required a special interposition of the Almighty, causing him to tremble very exceedingly, with an ecstacy of prophetic awe, feeling how near God was to him, before he could acquiesce in the transference of the blessing to his younger son. Jacob, apparently, had he been left to himself, would have had the sacred line continue through Joseph and not Judah: as he vested in him the other prerogatives of the birthright. Moses could not enter the promised land, thereby losing the one thing which he had most desired on earth. Samuel's latter days were passed in mourning Saul's unworthy forfeiture of God's grace and anointing. Lastly, David himself received the promise of Solomon under the implied condition of giving up once for all that on which he had set his heart ever since he had received the kingdom; the honour, namely, of building a Temple, a place of settled abode for the Ark of God. As if these emblems and forerunners of the Crucified were all more

or less bound to typify, even in God's most bountiful dealings with them, the Doctrine of the Cross, the mysterious condition of being made perfect through sufferings.

A third not unusual mark of the sacred line was to have their birth accompanied by some extraordinary, sometimes miraculous, Providence. Neither is this wanting in the instance of Solomon. For surely it was extraordinary that the chosen seed should be a child of Bathsheba, rather than any other of the numerous progeny of David, whose birth was unaccompanied by the like painful and shameful recollections. "David the king," says the inspired genealogist, "begat Solomon of her that had been the wife of Urias[a]." Not without some deep providential meaning, we may well believe, was this special notice taken of the adulterous wife of an alien in that sacred list. It has often been remarked that *four* women only are there mentioned: Thamar, Rahab, Ruth, and Bathsheba; all of them by birth or character, or both, remote at first from God's people and household. Each case, probably, with certain shades of difference, was meant to represent to the eye of faith the same mystery which the Prophet Hosea was commanded to enact in his own person, when the Lord said unto him, "Go, take unto thee a wife of whoredoms, and children of whoredoms; for the land hath committed great whoredom, departing from the Lord[b]."

Such, at least, is the general sentiment of antiquity. Neither need we shrink from it, as though it represented God in any way as approving of sin. It was but a part of the same aweful Providence which turned the sin of Judas and the Jews to the reconciling of the world. Why should it be thought a thing incredible with Christians, that even gross and deadly sin might be so overruled by the invisible arm as to become in certain instances typical of God's miraculous condescension? of the calling of the abandoned Gentile Church to be the bride of the Messiah, or of the union of lost human nature to the Most Holy?

Very significant, to the same purpose, is the *name* which was given to the child of Bathsheba immediately on its

[a] St. Matt. i. 6. [b] Hos. i. 2.

birth. He was called Jedidiah, because of the Lord, i.e. as we were told just before, "because the Lord loved him; for Jedidiah signifies ἀγαπητὸς, "the dearly beloved," beloved in such sense as an only child would be so called. Can we err in believing that the Holy Spirit intended the readers of the New Testament to discern One greater than Solomon here?

I observe, further, that this name was sent by the hand of the prophet Nathan: and this suggests another point of harmony with the course of God's mystical œconomies before and since. God appoints a Prophet, Nathan, not only to announce His intention concerning Solomon, but also to watch over its fulfilment, and take those steps which, humanly speaking, were necessary. Prophecy, from the time of its revival in Samuel, waited on God's Kingdom as a handmaid, not as a messenger and herald merely. Samuel himself, as he first announced Saul's downfall, and the exaltation of David, so he was commissioned to take the first steps towards both: reproving and abandoning Saul: anointing David, and providing him with a refuge in one of Saul's persecutions; and after death even, if Scripture may be literally understood, ministering to the same momentous change by his communication with Saul at Endor. In like manner Nathan, by whom at first God gave out His promise concerning Solomon, was the chosen instrument to reprove David, and bring him back to that share in God's covenant which his sins had else forfeited: as also, when he had repented, to sanction Bathsheba's continuing with him as his wife, and to convey to him his child's new name, a token of forgiveness and especial favour. Further; when Solomon's succession was in danger by the practices of Adonijah, it was Nathan who came forward to lay the thing before David, and encouraged Bathsheba to do the same. So that in his person, throughout the whole transaction, the general office of sacred prophecy in the scheme of Christ's Kingdom was illustrated. And this is rendered more striking by the fact that Nathan was probably the instrument of the Holy Ghost to record these events for the Church. The

Book of Nathan the Prophet, which is quoted in the Chronicles for certain particulars concerning David ;—may we not feel morally sure that it was virtually identical with certain chapters of the Second Book of Samuel and First of Kings ?

Yet again : as in other dispensations, so in this, matters were ordered in a way quite contrary to what human foresight would have anticipated. First of all, when David was planning the Temple, Nathan, speaking merely as a man who had come to know something of the Lord's doings, gave him all encouragement to go on with the work. For what indeed would seem so natural and proper, as for one who had approved himself so loyal, so full of affection to the ark of God, to provide It a settled place of abode, now that he had rest from his enemies round about ? Next, David had many sons at the time, and doubtless his thoughts would turn towards one or other of them, as most likely to be intended in the prophecy. And it may be the fatal events in his family had their use, in reconciling his mind to the preference of the younger son ; as also in taking away those, such as Absalom and Adonijah, who would naturally have proved the most formidable rivals to Solomon. Certainly it would appear, from many hints in the later portion of David's history, that the popular feeling, and latterly also that of the chief nobles, would have rather singled out one of the elder sons. And it is not impossible that the old jealousy between Judah and the other tribes, which had caused the rebellion under Sheba, may have been more or less exasperated in secret by the last public transaction of David's life, so intimately connected with the intended succession of Solomon, I mean the choice of Mount Moriah for the site of the Temple. The providential infatuation of Adonijah, declaring himself before his father's death, put an end to these murmurings, occasioning as it did the immediate coronation of Solomon, under the sanction of one whom all knew to be a prophet.

On the whole, there are glimpses of extraordinary divine interference in this portion of history, sufficient to fix a re-

ligious man's regard on him in whom the whole terminates, as on one from whom great things might be expected, and in whom still greater were prefigured.

With regard to the cruelty which some might lay to his charge in the executions with which his reign commenced; first, he was in all of them strictly obeying his father's commands; a strong presumption, though it stood alone, against the suspicion of extreme harshness. For David had been throughout, to his own enemies, the most merciful and gentle of conquerors. When he was severe, it was against the enemies of the Lord. Next, it is not doubtfully indicated, that the conspiracy of Adonijah, though repressed for the time, was still subsisting, and in such vigour as could only be quelled by the sentence of the law taking effect upon its leaders. For Adonijah's demand of Abishag, as the commentators have remarked, according to the notions of that age, was equivalent to a claim on the kingdom; as was seen a few years before, in the case of Absalom and his father's concubines. His sending, therefore, such a message to Solomon, was no better than a treasonable defiance:—

"Solomon knew," says Theodoret, "that his brother was aiming at usurpation;... and although he excused his former daring attempt, and promised him security if he would make up his mind to be quiet, yet when he proceeded to demand the concubine of his father, he not only refused the request, which would have been a step to usurpation, but also, providing for the stability of the monarchy, commanded him to be put to death [c]."

Of Joab and Shimei, the same writer gives the following brief but sufficient account:—

"Why did he slay Joab, having fled for refuge to God? The law of God expressly ordered it: it enjoined that the person seeking sanctuary, if a homicide, should be executed. As for Shimei, he drew the fatal sentence on himself. For having pledged himself to abide in Jerusalem, and confirmed his promise by an oath, he broke that oath, and dared to absent himself contrary to his engagement [d]."

[c] Theod. i. 459. [d] Ibid. qu. 8.

Abiathar's being only ejected from the priesthood, after his sharing in the treason, was an instance of great clemency, and at the same time an act of religious obedience to the declared will of God concerning the family of Eli. (It may be remarked, by the way, that Abiathar's taking part in the conspiracy, connected as he was with the old establishment of the ark in Shiloh, countenances the idea that a jealousy was felt of the tribe of Judah and the hill of Sion, as well as of Solomon individually.) Neither is it unworthy of consideration, whether in these executions the newly anointed was not exhibiting a providential type of that which our Lord so awefully describes in the parable of the Ten Pounds. "Those mine enemies, which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me[e]."

The successive chapters of Solomon's history, apart from all mystical or religious bearing, mark him out surely as one of the greatest men not of the Jewish only, but of all ancient memory. First comes that remarkable vision, the turning-point of his whole character and history. God said, "Ask what I shall give thee," and he chose wisdom, practical wisdom, above all other gifts. It seems as though the bountiful offer came by way of answer to his solemn prayer and sacrifice, offered at Gibeon before the tabernacle as the first act of his reign. For there is every appearance of an inversion in the order of the history, so as that the whole business of Adonijah, his conspiracy and punishment, should be related uninterruptedly. And thus, by the way, the execution of the conspirators will be further justified, as an act of that supernatural wisdom with which he was endowed at Gibeon.

As to his worshipping in the high place, the tone of the narrative shews that, though irregular, it was what God approved of under the circumstances. As yet the place had not been fixed where only God would be worshipped; the Ark had by a special providence come to be separated from the tabernacle, and had found a resting-place in Jerusalem, but the tabernacle itself, and altar, and other

[e] St. Luke xix. 27.

sacred furniture, were lodged for the present in Gibeon, in the portion, as it seems, and custody, of the sons of Ithamar, to whom the priesthood for a time had devolved. How the tabernacle came there, and how it was removed from Shiloh, where it had continued from Joshua to Eli, and whether it did not remain for a season at Nob, the city of the priests, which paid so dear a penalty for Ahimelech's hospitality to David (which the mention of the shewbread would appear to indicate) are matters of no more than probable conjecture. If fully recorded, they might perhaps throw light on the gradual separation, which so many things at this time pointed at, of the whole Jewish nation into the parties of Judah and of Ephraim. However, Solomon's worshipping first at Gibeon, and afterwards repeating his solemn sacrifice before the ark in the city of David, may be reasonably considered not merely as an act of good policy, for abating the jealousies which the effort of Adonijah (among other recent events) might have stirred up; but much more as an humble acknowledgment, on his own part and the people's, of the fallen and disjointed state into which their sins had brought them, and an expression of a pious wish, that he might be God's instrument for establishing a more perfect order. The vision of extraordinary favour may be well regarded as God's answer to those offerings and prayers, and may by implication encourage us Christians also, and shew us how to proceed in perplexing times; for instance, to explore and honour, as we best may, the remains, more or less scattered or united, of the old ecclesiastical truth and order, and to do what little we can towards bringing them together again; not to withdraw from a Church that is a Church indeed on account of mere disorders, but to pursue that line which may best tend to bring out the neglected parts of the system, and keep within bounds those which are exaggerated; not, in short, to destroy, but to fulfil; (if the phrase may be borrowed without presumption).

Of the choice itself of Solomon, we may affirm that it were but an inadequate representation of it to say, that he

chose wisdom, and was rewarded over and above with riches and honour. It was not wisdom in every sense of the word, but it was that practical and civil wisdom which was requisite for the discharge of his immediate personal duties. It was "an understanding heart, to judge God's people, that he might discern between good and bad." Again, his recompense was not merely external riches and wealth and honour beyond all other kings, but it is clearly indicated that his natural knowledge also, and what in modern times would be called his great eminence in philosophy and literature, formed part of God's bounty vouchsafed in approbation of his choice. "God gave Solomon wisdom and understanding, exceeding much; and largeness of heart, even as the sand that is on the sea-shore [e]." The latter expression, "largeness of heart," corresponds remarkably in its very sound to the phrases commonly employed in our own days; *enlarged* views, *reach* of mind, *comprehensive* intellect, and the like. And is there not something very instructive to a generation like ours, so greedy of that kind of praise, in our finding it assigned as a prize to the straightforward conscientiousness, which had caused him, postponing for the present all other desires, to seek that knowledge only which lay in the line of his daily practical duty? Does it not shew that in the choice among mental gifts themselves, as well as in the comparison of external things with spiritual, he will ever prove wisest who shall depend most unreservedly on the rule and promise of our Saviour, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness," and all these things —not only meat, drink, and clothing, but learning also, and skill in arts, and every kind of mental accomplishment, shall be given you, as far as is needful for you, over and above.

Hooker, indeed, appears to think that Solomon's excellency of knowledge was limited to natural, moral, and civil wisdom, much as Aristotle's was afterwards, and in distinction from the Egyptian and Chaldean wisdom mathematical, wherewith Moses and Daniel were furnished.

[e] 1 Kings iv. 29.

But does not the sacred Text attribute to Solomon the science both of Chaldea and of Egypt, as expressly as to either of the two great prophets. "Solomon's wisdom," we read, "excelled the wisdom of all the children of the east country, and all the wisdom of Egypt[f]." There is also a passage in the opening of the book of Ecclesiastes, which, if I mistake not, implies the author's proficiency in those sciences, which seem more than any to give the key to the secrets of nature. "I gave my heart to seek and search out by wisdom concerning all things that are done under heaven; this sore travail hath God given to the sons of men to be exercised therewith. I have seen all the works that are done under the sun, and behold, all is vanity and vexation of spirit. That which is crooked cannot be made straight, and that which is wanting cannot be numbered[g]." Is not this last verse, with all its simplicity of language, exquisitely fitted to the expression as well of physical as of moral difficulties? "That which is crooked cannot be made straight," is a literal account of one of the chief perplexities which occur in the science of space; "that which is wanting cannot be numbered," is a no less precise statement of the analogous problem in arithmetic, with which later ages have tried to grapple by so many refinements of analysis. This interpretation I wish to offer without prejudice to the moral meaning of the verse, and at most as a conjecture to be judged of by those who know more both of science and of Hebrew. Meanwhile the application to the abstract sciences of the passage which sets Solomon above the Egyptians and Orientals seems unquestionable; considering what is elsewhere said of the wisdom both of Chaldea and of Egypt.

The next verse also, if I read it not wrong, represents him in a new character; as the most skilful poet and musician of his time. "He was wiser than all men; than Ethan the Ezrahite, and Heman, and Chalcol, and Darda, the sons of Mahol[h]." There is a difficulty, certainly, in identifying the persons here mentioned. Two of the names, Heman and Ethan, occur in two several parts of

[f] 1 Kings iv. 30. [g] Eccles. i. 13—15. [h] 1 Kings iv. 31.

the Hebrew genealogies; i.e. both in the tribe of Judah and family of Zerah[i], and also in the tribe of Levi and families of Kohath and Merari[k]; and the latter, the Levites, being contemporary with David and Solomon, the mind is naturally turned towards them as the persons most likely to be intended in this comparison. But the other two names, Chalcol and Darda, are not found in that generation, but are found following those of the first Heman and Ethan, as grandsons of the Patriarch Judah[l]. *These* might be properly called Ezrahites, i.e. by a slight and common transposition, Zerahites: whereas the name of Ezra or Zerah does not occur in the Levitical genealogy. Here indeed in the Book of Kings, they are called sons not of Zerah, but of Mahol. But it is conjectured by a commentator of note, and appears quite consistent with Hebrew phraseology, that *Mahol* is not here an appellation, but an abstract noun, meaning choral or festive music; in which sense it occurs repeatedly in the Psalms and Jeremiah. In this construction, "the sons of Mahol," or "of music," would be an idiom similar to "sons of Thunder," or "sons of Belial;" and the whole verse would then run as follows: "He was wiser or more skilful than Ethan, the son of Zerah, and his brethren, Heman, Chalcol, and Darda, renowned as minstrels." This would agree well enough with the fact, that certain strains, or poems, or both, were known to the Collector of the Psalms by the title of Maschil of Heman, or Ethan the Ezrahite[m]. Other singers of the tribe of Levi might afterwards bear the same names, either accidentally, or by way of distinction, as though they were thought to come near those ancient founders of Israelitish musical art; who must have flourished, by the way, in the time of the Egyptian exile. But Solomon seems here to be compared with those ancients themselves, and to be set above them in their own line. And, accordingly, the next thing related of him, is the abundance of his poetical composition. "He spake three thousand proverbs, and his

[i] 1 Chron. ii. 6.
[k] Ibid. vi. 33, 43.
[l] Ibid. ii. 6.
[m] Ps. lxxxviii., title; Ibid. lxxxix., title.

songs were a thousand and five[n]." Of his excellency in both these kinds of poetry, humanly speaking, we may judge by what remains — the books of Proverbs and of Canticles; so thoroughly different one from the other, yet each so exquisite in its own sort and vein. Thus it appears that to Solomon's fame for civil and moral wisdom, we must add whatever is due to proficiency both in abstract science and in poetical art.

As to his attainments in natural history, the inspired record is quite express. "He spake of trees, from the cedar-tree that is in Lebanon, even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall: he spake also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes[o]." If the time permitted, this might be largely illustrated from his writings now extant; which indicate a mind peculiarly conversant with the forms and habits of every plant and animal. Theodoret indeed affirms, that much of the best information to be found in ancient writers on natural history, was derived from the recorded observations of Solomon.

Standing thus, in the Book of Inspiration, as the appropriate example of those great and rare minds, whom the world, especially in these later ages, has agreed most throughly to spoil with admiration—in which point of view, Lord Bacon particularly among moderns, delighted to regard him, and has accordingly filled his writings with quotations and allusions to those of Solomon, more than to any other parts of Holy Scripture—considering Solomon, I say, in this light, it is very instructive to remark, first, how religiously he makes his physical and scientific wisdom defer to that which is moral and practical, (e.g. the unvaried tone of the Book of Proverbs). Secondly, how among practical principles themselves, he gives the first and highest place, not studiously, but by a kind of divine instinct, to certain simple though noble axioms, which a mere human philosophy might have scorned as truisms. Filial piety is the one string, out of which, according to his philosophy, all moral harmonies may be brought It

[n] 1 Kings iv. 32. [o] Ibid. 33.

is the chosen type and preliminary exercise of devotion towards God. This is a favourite theme in the Book of Proverbs; but it is nowhere more deeply and more pathetically enforced, than in the following verses, where Solomon is referring to the experience of his own childhood: "Hear, ye children, the instruction of a father, and attend to know understanding. For I give you good doctrine, forsake ye not my law. For I was my father's son, tender and only beloved in the sight of my mother. He taught me also, and said unto me, Let thine heart retain my words; keep my commandments, and live[p]." Again, how touching is the appeal to the recollections of a safe and innocent home, conveyed in this description of a strange woman, That "she forsaketh the guide of her youth, and forgetteth the covenant of her God[q]." In short, throughout that divine Book, as we are taught that purity of heart is the regular way to the favour and treasures of wisdom, so obedience to parents is inculcated as the only way to purity of heart.

Observe, now, how well the history agrees with the Proverbs in this respect. The very first transaction in which it pleased God that Solomon should exercise that supernatural understanding with which he had been just endowed, was the famous case of the two harlots, decided, as we all know, by an appeal to the force of parental love. To the same purpose is the fondness with which he recurs, from time to time, to the memory of his father David: sparing Abiathar, because he had borne the ark of God before him; and in his solemn inauguration of the Temple, adopting that hymn which David had framed long before, for the precious ceremony of bringing the ark to Jerusalem. "Arise, O Lord God, into Thy resting-place, Thou, and the ark of Thy strength: let Thy Priests, O Lord God, be clothed with salvation, and let Thy Saints rejoice in goodness. O Lord God, turn not away the face of Thine Anointed: remember the mercies of David Thy servant[r]." An ancient writer has remarked the correspondence between the example of the father, refusing to honour God with that which cost him nothing, and the

[p] Prov. iv. 1—4. [q] Ibid. ii. 17. [r] 2 Chron. vi. 41, 42.

son's precept, "Honour the Lord with thy substance, and with the first-fruits, the very best of thine increase[s]." And perhaps we may discover not a little of the characteristic reverence of David, when we read of Solomon, that he "brought up the daughter of Pharaoh out of the city of David, unto the house that he had built for her: for he said, My wife shall not dwell in the house of David King of Israel, because the places are holy, whereunto the ark of the Lord hath come[t]." Here is something of the same humble piety, which David shewed when he refused to let the ark of God accompany him in his exile, keenly as he felt his separation from it, "like as the hart desireth the water-brooks."

Two other observations remain, serving at once to complete the view which Scripture gives of Solomon's largeness of heart, and also to shew how divinely his character was adapted to his appointed work. First, as to the external prosperity, the wealth and honour with which God crowned him. He is represented not merely as the richest of monarchs, but also as the one who best understood the science of wealth, public and private. The reflection of the sacred historian, after describing the trade with Tharshish, is: "So King Solomon exceeded all the kings of the earth for riches and for wisdom[u]." A remark the more striking, if there be ground for the suggestion of Dean Prideaux, a very competent judge as I suppose; that David and Solomon, by occasion of the conquest of Edom, and consequent possession of the two ports of Elath and Eziongaber on the Red Sea, were the first to open that regular trade with the East Indies, which has ever since been accounted the channel of wealth both to Europe and Western Asia. It is as if the Spirit of God said in effect to the spirit of this world, Even for this Tharshish and Ophir of yours, this India and China, on which you so much depend, you are indebted to the princes of God's people, and to the wisdom wherewith He inspired them for the uses of His Church. From a subsequent passage, it appears that Solomon acquired also the command of

[s] Prov. iii. 9. [t] 2 Chron. viii. 11. [u] 1 Kings x. 23.

the trade between Egypt and Palestine, for the linen yarn, the spun byssus or fine flax, which was the staple commodity of Egypt. For agriculture, the other source of public wealth, his especial attention to it is implied in the establishment, minutely related, of twelve officers as purveyors to superintend as many districts of Palestine, in his annual present to Hiram of wheat and oil; in his finding it necessary to have "store cities," or places of deposit, for the produce of his lands; and not least, by the many precepts of rural œconomy, and by the touches of vivid rural imagery which abound in his writings. But this is nothing peculiar, as the Jews were an agricultural nation, and David in particular had extensive establishments of that sort. On the whole, it is not a little curious to find so many of those arts and inventions on which our age most prides itself, meeting us one after another in the history of Solomon, and appearing there as fruits of his supernatural wisdom; lest man should think he has any good thing of his own, or any which cannot and ought not to be devoted to God and His Church.

This leads us to mention the other quality, which obviously runs through the Scripture record of the power and wealth and splendour of this great King: the true magnificence, the sense of the beautiful and becoming, with which he constantly wielded and applied his resources. This was his wisdom, his largeness of heart, in its application to works of art, and to the arrangements of his court and palace. It was exemplified in that variety of works which he enumerates in the Book of Ecclesiastes: houses, vineyards, gardens and orchards, plantations of trees, pools of water, establishments of servants, great and small cattle, silver and gold, singers and musical instruments: to which he adds, "my wisdom remained with me: and whatsoever mine eyes desired I kept not from them, I withheld not my heart from any joy [x]." Who does not feel how exactly this represents the way of life of thousands of wealthy and refined persons; persons who know they can afford much, and see no reason they should not have whatever they can afford.

[x] Eccles. ii. 9, 10.

The history accordingly gives in minute detail the plan of his palace, his portico or hall of judgment, his throne of gold and ivory, the rare jewels, timbers for carving, trinkets and animals, which his trading vessels brought from the East. In another department of magnificence, it dwells on the great works of utility and defence, wherewith he was continually enriching his country; such as Millo, the outer rampart of Jerusalem, the fortresses and cities of store which he built. All which is further set off by the relation of the order and splendour of his household, the meat of his table, the sitting of his servants, and all that so astonished the Queen of Sheba, that there was no breath left in her.

Of all these varieties of sumptuousness, there are traces most evident in the Song of Solomon. The imagery differs from that of the Psalms in nothing so entirely as in this, that it is borrowed in good measure from Kings' courts and royal gardens, from the palace, the bed, the chariot, the vineyard of Solomon, the fortresses he was building, the spices which adorned his banquet, the rare exotics of his herbary: while David's figures are freer and bolder, and borrowed from things that are more within cognizance of all men. This contrast, considered in detail, might serve perhaps to set in a stronger light, the crowning quality of Solomon's wisdom,—his *refinement*, his intuitive sense of fitness and beauty, in works of art and utility, and in domestic arrangements.

Now this is a quality, the possession or absence of which may seem comparatively of small consequence in the serious estimate of a person's character; but for the great work with a view to which Solomon was raised up—for the building of the Temple—it is obvious how much depends on it. Indeed, it may be interesting and profitable to observe, how all these varieties of wisdom in the favoured prince, did as it were converge that one way: his justice and political sagacity serving to keep both his own country and the surrounding nations tranquil, his knowledge of œconomies accumulating wealth, and his skill in science and the useful arts, and that sense of order and harmony

which belonged to him as a Poet, enabling him to apply that wealth to the best advantage.

With all these resources it is very observable, that he took no pains to be original in his plans of the Temple. In all things, says the writer in Chronicles, he "was instructed for the building of the house of God[y]." The plans were not his own, any more than the treasure was. David, who had collected the one, had also most carefully drawn the other: "David gave to Solomon his son, the pattern of the porch and of the houses thereof, and of the treasuries thereof, and of the upper chambers thereof, and of the inner parlours thereof, and the place of the mercy-seat, and the pattern of all that he had by the Spirit, of the courts of the house of the Lord, and of all the chambers round about, of the treasuries of the house of God, and of the treasuries of the dedicated things: also for the courses of the priests and the Levites, and for all the work of the service of the house of the Lord, and for all the vessels of service in the house of the Lord[z]." He went so far into detail, as to weigh out separately the gold and the silver for each vessel.

Not that it was David's own plan; for he himself assured his son: "All this the Lord made me understand in writing by His hand upon me, even all the works of this pattern[a]." So that, as in the first tabernacle Moses made all things not of his own mind, but as he had seen them in the mount, so in the Temple also there was nothing, properly speaking, of man's work. Solomon and David were but the agents of God's Spirit, the one in designing, the other in executing that series of mystical wonders; yet so as to leave to each his precise and distinctive character, as entirely as he leaves to each Prophet his own style of writing, to each one whom he sanctifies his own air and tone of goodness. However, it is of great consequence to observe, that the Temple was from beginning to end supernatural. And from the close analogy between it and the Tabernacle, we cannot doubt that

[y] 2 Chron. iii. 3. [z] 1 Chron. xxviii. 11—13. [a] Ibid. 19.

to both the same mystery belongs; and that the parts of the Temple, and processes of its worship, are to be explained by the same key which St. Paul has taught us to apply to its predecessor in the wilderness.

What change, then, did Solomon make in the condition of the Hebrew people? How was his reign such an æra in their history, as it is commonly represented? How could the mere difference of a moveable or fixed place of worship be of such material consequence? One might answer in the words of George Herbert, "King Solomon *finished* and *fixed* the old religion." He *finished*, *by* fixing it: by determining once for all the metropolis of the religion, the place where the Lord would set His name, and whither all the people should resort for the solemn annual ceremonials, as well as to the oracle provided for great occasions: the only place, in a word, where sacrifice could be offered. It is evident that this could not be done in any way more effectual than by building a fixed Temple instead of the migratory Tabernacle, of which, when God had once approved, and taken possession of it by His cloud of glory, the religion was so far fixed, even in point of place, until some new revelation should intimate God's will to depart. Although, therefore, the books of Moses contain no express command to build a temple like that of Jerusalem, yet the thoughts of pious and considerate Israelites would naturally turn that way. When they read the earnest exhortations to remember the place which the Lord should choose in one of their tribes, and reserve for that place all their more solemn services; and when they reflected on the many profanations which the ark of God had to sustain as long as it dwelt between curtains, and its place of abode was left to man's discretion; they would long for the time to come when God should accomplish His prophecy by Moses, by actually marking out the spot of ground, towards which every Israelite should worship, and in which only he might thenceforth offer sacrifice. That spot being once made known, they would feel, with David, that it would not be enough to pitch the Tabernacle there; but rather, if

it might be, to build a Temple, a more glorious and abiding, and therefore a worthier symbol of the Lord's mysterious Presence. The project of the Temple in short was a *developement*, by the piety of David and such as David, of what they read in the original letter of God's word. And its adoption, so to speak, by the Almighty, seems to offer a remarkable instance of encouragement given to that diligent Faith, which limits not itself to the bare letter, but humbly endeavours to carry out the commandments of the Lord in their spirit and full meaning.

So much for the immediate national end for which Solomon was raised up, and the critical adaptation of his character and history to it. Before proceeding to the deeper and more awful view which the New Testament instructs us to take of him, it may be well to mention one other immediate purpose of Divine Providence in raising him up: a purpose not confined as the former within the limits of Judea. He was evidently God's instrument for diffusing among the Gentiles such nations as He willed should be brought within their reach of Himself, His chosen people, His Law and His Prophets. By Solomon's great power and wealth, by his widely-spread commercial dealings, and by the fame of his wisdom, distant nations were brought into contact with Judea, and the attention of those on the borders was attracted to the Jewish polity, in a degree surpassing what had ever before been known. Pharaoh, Hiram, the Queen of Sheba, may be named as undoubted instances of this. And the praise which our Saviour has bestowed on the Queen of Sheba implies, that others who heard of Solomon's fame were as much put on their probation thereby as she was, and are responsible if they declined God's intended favours. What a vision does this suggest of the possible benefits which the Gentiles also might have received from the Jewish œconomy, had the monarchs of Tyre and Egypt and the other nations followed that queen's example! Who can say how much it may have had to do with the proselytism of the eunuch in the Acts of the Apostles, and that again with the sub-

sequent conversion of Abyssinia to Christianity, in which it continues to this day! However, the statement is self-evident, that in such measure as the Jewish nation was providentially meant to be a witness to the Gentiles, Solomon was the prime instrument in accomplishing God's will. And I know not whether it be worth observing in connection with this subject, that of all the writings of the Old Testament,—excepting, perhaps, the Book of Job, which is commonly supposed to have been written before the Law,—Solomon's have least in them of what belongs to the Mosaic dispensation, and might seem best adapted to the use of thoughtful Gentiles, believers in true natural religion; a circumstance the more remarkable, as Solomon himself was so deeply versed in the Mosaic ritual, and so anxiously bent on following out the system.

In this his relation to the Gentiles, as in some other material respects, the character and office of Solomon is a confessed type of that Son of David who is the light of the Gentiles, as well as the glory of Israel. He is our Peace, Who made both one; and Solomon's name and peaceful reign manifestly point to that attribute. And whereas the building of the Temple was withheld from David, because he was a man of blood, and reserved for Solomon, of whom we read not that he was ever engaged in any war; the ancient interpreters understood by this, that as the Hebrew worthies all prefigured the same Christ, but variously, and in several aspects and relations, so Solomon's province was to represent Him in His character of a triumphant King, seated on His throne, and bountifully establishing and building up His Church; His humiliation and struggles, represented by David's wars, are past and gone; and now He is endowed with all the treasures and glories, intellectual as well as external, of this present world, to be turned in their several ways to His honour and the increase of His Kingdom, the Church; even as Solomon's unequalled accomplishments were all made subservient to his calling as Founder of the Temple. The presents from Thar-

shish and the Isles, from Arabia and Saba, were manifest emblems of the kings of the earth bringing their glory and honour into the Church; as such they are alluded to by the Prophet Isaiah, and further exemplified by the offerings of the Magi to our Lord. Solomon's prayer at the Dedication of the Temple bears an obvious and a most instructive analogy to that which may be called, perhaps without irreverence, the Dedication or Inauguration Prayer of our great High Priest and King; that most solemn of all Intercessions, commending His Church to His Father, after He had finished His work on earth. As Solomon pronounced his Temple God's settled habitation, the place where He should abide for ever; so Christ declared that the work was now to be finished; no other Gospel, no other dispensation to be looked for, the vision and covenant to be sealed up, the Faith once for all delivered to the saints. As Solomon asked that those might be heard who should pray to God, not any how, but in or towards the Temple; so our Lord's intercession was not for the world, but for the Church: that Body in Communion with which all acceptable prayer must henceforth be offered. Solomon's Litany then uttered was a model to the Hebrew Church. That portion of it especially which was appointed for a time of national humiliation, "we have sinned, we have done iniquity, we have dealt wickedly," occurs, we find, as the received form, taken up by the penitents of after times; probably by Jehoshaphat and Nehemiah, certainly by Daniel and one of the later Psalmists. So our Lord not only endowed His Church with the spirit of Prayer, but also taught her in what form to pray: actually in the case of the Lord's Prayer, and virtually in the case of those Primitive Liturgies, which, as learned men have lately shewn, are in effect one and the same Liturgy, sanctioned, as we have great reason to believe, by His Apostles acting in His Name. Finally, as in answer to Solomon's supplication, the cloud of glory filled the Temple; so the Holy Ghost came down from heaven and dwells in the Church, realizing the prayer of our Lord.

I pass over other analogies, which will readily suggest themselves to a mind familiar with Scripture; especially that most sacred one which was embodied in Solomon's marriage with a Gentile princess; to explain which at large would be to write a comment on the Book of Canticles. The object of this paper is rather to direct attention to the other typical view of Solomon's character, as not being, in general, so much considered: to regard him, i.e. as an emblem of *The Church* in one or more of her conditions and aspects; assuming, what was before intimated, the Union between the Head CHRIST JESUS and His mystical Body to be such, and such also the fulness of the spiritual meaning of the Bible, that the types of our Lord suffering or reigning are always types also of His Church, persecuted or triumphant. If so, we must be careful to consider them in both lights: else we may lose much instruction bearing directly on our own practice.

Solomon, then, in his choice at Gibeon, is, if I mistake not, a very significant emblem of the Church as our Lord left her, giving up all things for the sake of the true wisdom. And the riches, and honour, and intellectual greatness with which God endowed him over and above, do they not aptly shadow out the same Church gradually prevailing against, and turning to her own divine uses, the Greek philosophy, the power and polity of Rome, the splendour of the East, and the poetry of every nation? As Solomon turned all to account in completing his task, so the Church in her own way might and ought to use heathen art and science, and whatever else of this world God has put into her hands, to the perfecting the heavenly building, i.e. herself. She did so for a time. And so doing, she might as surely expect to draw the attention of the world, and make converts, as Solomon to have the Queen of Sheba and other princes of the earth to come and hear his wisdom. That Queen, admiring the splendour of Solomon's court, and wondering that anything so noble and beautiful, nay, so sacred in its whole appearance, should be made out of mere gold and jewels, of tapestry, and

the movements of waiting men and women,—what was she but an image of the unlearned and unbelievers, coming into Christian assemblies, and witnessing the divine order, the godly discipline, the prophetical glories of the Church, radiant with the gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit; and so falling down on their face to worship God, and acknowledge His peculiar Presence? Again, as in the whole construction of the Temple, Solomon was mindful of his father, and of the pattern, divinely drawn, which he had received from his hands; so the Church Catholic, in her uncorrupt days, availed herself of the splendours of human learning, the wealth and honour offered by devout kings, only in developement and extension of her first divine rules, not at all so as to change, contradict, or suppress them.

Well would it be if the parallel ended here: but there is another scene of Solomon's history, to which also the records of the Church afford, it must be feared, too near an analogy: his sad apostacy in his old age. He fell, in spite of two warnings in solemn vision from the Almighty,—a fact which the sacred historian especially notices; to say nothing of the silent and hardly less awful warning, the remembrance of what had happened to his father David. He fell in his old age: not, as it should seem, in an unaccountable burst of passion like David's: *his* disobedience appears rather the natural fruit of an inordinate desire to be, as the great Poet words it, "in both worlds full:" to take the best in every kind for himself, instead of rejoicing, as his father in his bitter hour did, in all opportunities of giving up something to the will of his bountiful God. He sought to excel at once in every line, to taste one after another the choicest of every pleasure; according to the dreary and wearisome course which he represents himself as pursuing in the opening of the Book of Ecclesiastes. His crowded seraglio was but one instance more of the sort of ambition which made him seek to surpass all men in his gardening, his agriculture, his treasures of gold and jewelry, his establishment of musicians and slaves, of horses and cha-

riots, of rarities of nature and art from all quarters. In his wish thus to unite in his own person the most opposite kinds of enjoyment, he transgressed God's express law, first by going down to Egypt for horses and chariots, next in multiplying to himself without measure wealth both of that and of other kinds, afterwards in carrying to excess the licence which God had not yet withdrawn from polygamy; lastly, and chiefly, in marrying without scruple women of the surrounding idolatrous nations. It is, indeed, both curious and melancholy to compare his history with the following passage in Deuteronomy, written, no doubt, with a prophetic eye to his case: "He shall not multiply horses to himself, nor cause the people to return to Egypt, to the end that he should multiply horses: .... neither shall he multiply wives to himself, that his heart turn not away: neither shall he greatly multiply to himself silver and gold[a]." Here was another plain warning, in contempt of which he seems to have acted: no wonder, then, if he first indulged and then practised his wives' gross and extreme idolatry. He not only connived at, but practised it himself; and not only practised, but took steps to continue it; profaning the very neighbourhood of the Temple with high places, and groves, and altars, which lasted until the reign of Josiah.

So far Scripture is express: we cannot doubt of the greatness of Solomon's fall; but an interesting, nay, a fearful question remains, Whether he ever came to Repentance? I call it a question, because I do not know that there is any express affirmation of Holy Scripture, or any clear undeviating tradition of antiquity, to tell us whether that great and wise king went down to the grave an idolater and apostate, or no. It may be worth while to sum up concisely the grounds of probability on both sides; and then, should the result be that we remain in doubt, to point out the practical import of that very doubtfulness.

The first and most obvious presumption against Solo-

[a] Deut. xvii. 16, 17.

mon is the silence of the Book of Kings, which, it may be thought, would hardly have omitted so memorable an example of repentance as his would have been. It were unsafe, however, to build positively on this, since the same Book altogether omits the repentance of Manasseh, of which there is no doubt:—a less important personage certainly than Solomon, yet a very signal instance of God's mercy, and at the same time a great and grave example of that which the story of David so emphatically teaches:—that the truest repentance will save indeed the penitent's soul, but cannot do away the whole result of the sin. Whatever account may be given of *his* change of heart in the Book of Kings, the same, if we knew it, might serve to explain the omission of Solomon's also.

It would seem at first a more decisive circumstance, that the high places of the idols which he built to gratify his wives remained even till the days of Josiah; although to remove these, one might imagine, would be the first act of his penitence. But neither can this be relied on; since Manasseh, whose repentance is unquestionable, left within the very courts of the Temple certain altars which he had made to the host of heaven, for his grandson Josiah to demolish: a grosser case than Solomon's, so far as that his were at least without the holy place, and most likely by the Mount of Olives, at least a mile and a half from the city. The most, therefore, that could be inferred from this fact alone would be the melancholy certainty that the utmost industry of penitence, when it comes late and after gross transgression, will seldom be adequate to the rooting out all the visible consequences of the sin.

But the case assumes a more unfavourable light, when we turn to the Books of Chronicles. The writer of them, for whatever cause, has given a far more cheerful view of the portion of sacred history allotted to him, than we find in the Books of Kings, going over the same ground. He has passed over, evidently on principle, (a principle not of man's wisdom, but of God's, and worthy of reverential inquiry, as a separate subject,) he has, I say, passed

over the sin of David, the sad history of Ahab, and the other kings of Israel; has touched but lightly on Hezekiah's error in the matter of the embassy from Babylon; has carefully inserted the repentance of Manasseh, and the particulars of the reformations by Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah. As far as one can gather his rule of selection, it would seem *prima facie* strictly in accordance with it to supply the account, as of Manasseh's, so also of Solomon's repentance, if he really *did* repent. Whereas he has omitted all mention both of it and of the previous course of sin. Nor is this omission parallel to that in David's case, because of that full records had been supplied in the Book of Samuel. The point certainly may be argued in both ways, but on the whole the silence of the Chronicles appears to me rather unfavourable to the conjecture one should wish to acquiesce in.

The tradition of the later Hebrews again, at the time of the Christian æra, appears to have been against Solomon: and perhaps more weight may be fairly due to it than as if it had taken the other direction, since Solomon was surely one whom they would have delighted to honour. However, Josephus says of him, "He died ingloriously;" and only suggests in excuse for him, that his better judgment was impaired by extreme old age: for he makes his reign eighty years long, and his age when he died ninety-four. He must therefore have found different numbers from the present in the Books both of Kings and Chronicles, which allow but forty years for Solomon's reign, and for his life, as near as we can calculate, about fifty-eight. And this agrees better with the significant prediction, "*If* thou wilt walk in My ways to keep My statutes and My commandments, as thy father David did walk, *then* I will lengthen thy days[b]."

The question, as might be expected, drew the attention of the Fathers of the Christian Church: and if they were positive and unanimous, or very nearly so, it would go near to decide the point. For then it would seem as if they were witnessing a traditive interpretation of

[b] 1 Kings iii. 14.

more than human origin. As it is, they differ too much to warrant any assertion of the sort. They can only be considered, in this instance, as giving each his own view of the probable meaning of Scripture. The African Church appears to have judged that the history left no room for Solomon's repentance. Tertullian's language is, "He lost that glory which he had some time in the Lord, being allured by the love of women into no less than idolatry [c]." Elsewhere, justifying the Old Testament against the slanders of Marcion, who had represented it as charging God with inconsistency, he mentions Solomon as an instance of rejection after special favour, in the same class with Saul. St. Austin is still more express; saying in one place, "Solomon was unchaste, and rejected by God, *reprobatur a Deo;*" and in another place arguing for his opinion as follows:—

"Why—in defence of the Bible against the Manichæans—why dwell on the case of Solomon, whom Holy Scripture severely reproves and condemns, nor yet records any thing of any repentance of his, or any indulgence on God's part towards him. Nor can I positively say that even in allegory any good meaning occurs to me, whereunto to apply his melancholy downfall [d]."

A little below, he adds,—

"We see in this single person, Solomon, both a wonderful excellency and a ruin no less wonderful. Now that which happened to him at several times, first good and afterwards evil, the same befals the Church, while yet in this world, at one and the same time. By his goodness, as I conceive, are represented the righteous ones of the Church; by his profligacy, the evil ones; as the grain and chaff in one threshing-floor, the wheat and tares in one crop [e]."

And in his sketch of the Jewish history in the "City of God," the same St. Augustine says,—

"Solomon's beginning was excellent, but his end evil. For prosperity, which even wise men find a constant wear and trial

[c] Tertull. adv. Marcionem, lib. v. cap. viii. [d] St. Aug. con. Faust., xxii. 88 a. [e] Ibid. xxii. 88 b.

to the spirit, did him more harm than even *his* wisdom did good, memorable as that is now, and has been quite down from his time, and far and wide as his praises then extended [f]."

Prosper, of Aquitaine, the disciple of St. Austin, speaks even more decidedly :—

"Falling away in his old age from the precepts of the Lord, he lost at once both life and wisdom.". . . "Having become in his declining years adulterous in mind and body, the Lord deserting him, he died wretchedly [g]."

Prosper adds, as do others of the same school, a providential reason, why this might have been permitted :—

"Many divine promises being uttered in his name, there was danger lest men should ascribe to him, the representative, the glories which he only prefigured [h]."

Neither was this severe judgment confined to the African Church, in some respects more rigid perhaps than those of the East. St. Basil produces the case of Solomon, among others, to illustrate the saying in Ezekiel, "When the righteous man turneth away from his righteousness, and committeth iniquity, and dieth in them; for his iniquity that he hath done shall he die [i]."

"Where," says St. Basil, "are the many labours of him who was eminently God's servant, Moses? The contradiction of a moment was enough to annul his chance of entering into the land of promise. Where is Gehazi's conversation with Elisha, now that from covetousness he has drawn on him the curse of leprosy? What, again, availed the abundant wisdom of Solomon, and the mind which he at first bore towards God, corresponding with that wisdom, when afterwards through his wild voluptuousness he had cast himself into idolatry [k]?"

This condemnation, however, is less decisive than those quoted above; since the example of David follows, by citing which St. Basil shews that his view in the above enumeration did not exclude all chance of future repent-

[f] St. Aug. de Civit. Dei, xx. b. [g] [Pseudo] Prosper Aquitan. [h] De Promissionibus et Prædictionibus Dei, Pars ii. cap. 27. [i] Ezek. xviii. 26. [k] St. Bas. Epist. xlii. 2.

ance. Cyril, also, of Alexandria, though in one place he enlarges rhetorically on the greatness of Solomon's fall, saying, "His presumptuous sin in his old age was beyond all extremes of impiety[l];" yet in his answer to Julian he in some sort palliates it by the supposed decay of his faculties :—

"He was carried away, being now on the very threshold of old age: . . . . his mind no longer in its first bloom, but partaking of the decrepitude of the body[m]."

It is plain enough under what bias the Fathers hitherto cited expressed themselves: and any opinion of theirs on that side, is so far the more considerable, as it moves contrary to the natural stream of their thoughts. For many reasons, they counted it a part of piety to put the mildest possible construction on the conduct of the elder worthies, and to give them the benefit of any doubt which the terms of the record might appear to leave: and that more especially in one so conspicuous in the holy line, and among the types of our Lord, and so particularly marked as one of God's beloved and elect. The undoubting tone, therefore, in which some of them speak of him as dying impenitent, would seem like the echo of a Catholic tradition, were it not for certain grave and not very rare exceptions, which may be specified as the first topic on the side of the more indulgent hypothesis.

St. Hilary on the fifty-second Psalm (the fifty-third in our reckoning), produces Solomon as an instance of God's great indulgence. The passage is remarkable, as referring for the contrary purpose to the very same scriptural facts which we have just seen Basil adducing as examples of severity :—

"God said indeed to Moses, His faithful friend, as we know, and appointed by Him to be as a God to Pharaoh, Because thou glorifiedst me not at the waters of strife, go up into the mount and die; yet this same person afterwards (no man knowing the place of his tomb)—him, I say, whom the Apostles saw with Elias in the mount—God reserved to be the partner and witness of His

[l] Præf. in Hoseam, p. 3 D.

[m] Contra Tul. lib. 7, t. vi. p. 227 B.

blessed and eternal kingdom. And, not to go through Aaron's case, and David's, and Solomon's, and many others', examples of the same divine goodness, who for their faith's sake found ready pardon, after each had been duly rebuked for the sin and scandal of his backsliding: the Lord, conscious of human infirmity, ... took not away from Peter the keys of the kingdom of heaven [n]."

St. Ambrose speaks gravely of Solomon's fall, and conjectures it, as Augustine and Prosper did afterwards, to have been permitted, lest men should imagine that the great Prophecies had their accomplishment in him; but I do not find that he affirms or implies his impenitence. His language is,—

"Solomon, by his own experience, asks, Can a man take fire in his bosom, and not be burned? Shall one walk on burning coals, and not scorch his feet [o]? . . . . Solomon builded a Temple to God: would that he had himself preserved the temple of his own body. . . . If David was weak, art thou strong? If Solomon fell, art thou immoveable. If Paul was the chief of sinners, canst thou be the chief of saints? In short, if the just erred, they erred as men, but as just men they acknowledged their sin [p]."

St. Cyril of Jerusalem follows on the same side, and in a more undoubting tone. In his second Catechetical Homily on Repentance and Confession, he says,—

"Thou seest the excellency of confession: thou seest that to all penitents is salvation. Even Solomon failed, but what says he? Afterwards I repented [q]?"

The text he refers to will be better considered presently: but as St. Jerome also quotes it to the same purpose, it may be as well to complete the course of testimonies from the Fathers, by producing some of his statements also.

In a letter to Salvina, a young widow, pressing on her the need of extreme caution and self-denial, he writes:—

"If Paul fears, which of us can be free from anxiety? If David

[n] St. Hilar. Tract. in Psalm lii. § 12. [o] St. Ambrosii Apologia Altera, cap. iii. § 13. [p] Ibid., cap. iii. § 16. [q] St. Cyril, Cat. Lect. ii. 13.

the friend of God, and Solomon his beloved one, were overcome as men, to be our examples both of degeneracy to teach wholesome fear, *and of repentance to salvation*, who would not fear a downfall in the slippery path [r]?"

He assumes, it will be perceived, that it was a known case of repentance. Also in his Commentary on Ezekiel :—

"Greatly inferior was Solomon's Temple to that here shewn to the Prophet, since not only the worshippers therein and attendants, but its founder also, Solomon, sinned and offended God : though *afterwards he repented* [s]."

These, I believe, are the chief authorities among the old writers on the favourable side of the question. It may be worth considering, whether or no they are not all traceable with some probability to the same theological school ; a school which may be supposed to have originated in and near Palestine, and to have been more or less influenced by Hebrew recollections and associations. For Cyril was Patriarch of Jerusalem ; Hilary, in his exile from his native Gaul under Constantius, was much conversant, both there and in Antioch, and in all the neighbouring Churches : Ambrose had his education, and afterwards his charge, in those parts of Christendom which were most under the influence of Hilary : Jerome was a monk of Palestine, and a Hebrew scholar, and not likely to miss any of the speculations current either among the Christians of the Circumcision, or among the Jews of the great academy of Tiberias, which at that time was very flourishing : and he tells us himself, in his Commentary on Ecclesiastes, that the Hebrew interpreters considered that Book to be the real record of Solomon's penitence.

The texts of Scripture alleged by the Fathers in support of the more consoling view are these : First, the tone of the prophecy to David, though strictly applicable to none but our Lord, is yet such as to encourage the idea, that Solomon, the typical subject of it, may have repented, though without express scriptural notice of his repentance. On that prophecy a contemporary of St. Augustine descants,—

[r] T. i. 500, ed. Vallarsii.

[s] Lib. 13 in Ezech., t. v. 524.

"What say we concerning Solomon? is he with God? or after his idolatry was he utterly rejected? If we shall say, With God, we shall be promising impunity to idolaters. For Scripture says not that Solomon repented or recovered his wisdom. If on the other hand we call him reprobate, we are met by the voice of God, saying, that for David's sake He would not take from Solomon so much as his earthly kingdom[t]."

Which latter argument is apparently countenanced by the significant way in which Saul is mentioned, and his case opposed to Solomon's. "My mercy shall not depart from him, as I took it from Saul, whom I put away before thee."

Nor is the fact altogether irrelevant, that Solomon was buried with his fathers in the City of David: whereas later kings, whose recorded apostasies were (some of them at least) no more flagrant than his, Jehoram, Jehoash, Amaziah, Uzziah, Manasseh, Amon, were not allowed the fulness of that honour; they were buried in Jerusalem, indeed, but not with David; not even Manasseh, whose repentance was so signal. This may be gathered from the Second Book of Chronicles; and as far as it goes, it affords some sort of presumption, that not only Solomon, but also Rehoboam and others, whose funerals are related in just the same phrase, were known to have repented in time. The matter is urged as follows by a writer of one generation below the last mentioned:—

"That Solomon obtained pardon we know hereby: after he was released from the body, Scripture relates his burial among the remains of the Kings of Israel; an honour which we find elsewhere denied to guilty kings, those, I mean, who to their lives' end continued in their perverse determination. Since, then, he obtained a burial among the righteous kings, he was not cut off from pardon: but that pardon without repentance, it was out of his power to obtain[u]."

The same writer anticipates the objection from the silence of the historical Scriptures:—

[t] Tichonius de regulis, Regula iv. Maxima Bibl. Vet. Patr., t. 6. 57, E.

[u] Bachiarius, de recipiendis lapsis ad Januarium epist. Maxima Bibl., t. 6. 1177, F.

"He who in prophetic strain acknowledged the guilt of his error, must we account him an outcast from the mercy of Heaven? But you may say, Nowhere in the Canon do I read that he repented and obtained mercy. Hear, then, my brother. His repentance, which is not set down in any public record, some perhaps may say was *therefore* the more acceptable, because he repented not to be seen of the people, but in the retirement of his own conscience, God being his witness[y]."

It will be asked, What are the "prophetic strains" in which Solomon acknowledged his error? and the right answer probably would be, the Book of Ecclesiastes, and a certain verse (the 21st) in the 24th chapter of Proverbs: which we have seen already quoted both by Cyril of Jerusalem, and by Jerome. The verse occurs in the well-known description of the sluggard, but the argument raised on it depends entirely on the wording of the LXX. version: which differs so widely from the Hebrew here, that it may be well to quote the whole passage. The authorized English done literally from the Hebrew, runs thus:—

"I went by the field of the slothful, and by the vineyard of the man void of understanding; and, lo, it was all grown over with thorns, and nettles had covered the face thereof, and the stone wall thereof was broken down. Then I saw, and considered it well: I looked upon it, and received instruction."

The LXX. reads,—

"As a field for husbandry, so is a fool: and as a vineyard, so is a man void of understanding. If thou let him alone, his soil will grow stiff, and his grass rank all over, and it becometh desolate; also the stone walls of that man are broken down."

The sacred writer then goes on:—

ὕστερον ἐγὼ μετενόησα; "it was late when I repented, I set mine eyes to select for myself instruction. But little do I slumber, but little sleep, but little fold mine arms upon my bosom. But if thou do so, (i.e. if thou slumber,) thy poverty shall come travelling onward, and thy need as one that runneth swiftly."

According to the view then received by the universal Church concerning the LXX. version, that even its varia-

[y] Bachiarius, de recipiendis lapsis ad Januarium epist. Maxima Bibl., t. 6. 1177, F.

tions from the Hebrew were providentially ordered or controuled, (an opinion strongly warranted by several passages of the New Testament,) it is not surprising that such an expression as this, ὕστερον ἐγὼ μετενόησα,—in which the word ἐγὼ occurs with so remarkable an emphasis,—should have caught their attention as designedly suited to the writer's own case: more especially as the context, without any violence, might be adapted to such an interpretation. For it might be paraphrased as follows: "See what danger a man is in left to his own natural folly, how sure to be overrun with a rank growth of mischief. Even I myself came but late to repentance, it was late when I considered in earnest to lay hold of Discipline."

It has indeed been said, but surely without sufficient evidence, that no text from the Book of Proverbs can be alleged to the required purpose; the whole book (so it is assumed) having been written before Solomon's fall. But what is the *external* proof of this? None *internal* surely can be adduced; a collection of miscellaneous aphorisms itself tells us nothing of the date of its composition; and we know that the later portion of the book, in which the verse occurs, was transcribed long after by scribes in the employ of Hezekiah. Moreover, were the fact ever so indisputable, that the whole book was written in the happier time of his life, it would not affect the present question, for *that* applies only to the LXX. version.

I conceive it therefore not impossible, that the clause of which we have been speaking, may be at least a supernatural hint, not to pass sentence positively against Solomon.

The main hinge, however, of this whole discussion, is undoubtedly the Book of Ecclesiastes. The time does not allow, but neither, fortunately, does the argument require, that the question should be here entered into, which biblical critics have so largely discussed, Whether this Book were really written by Solomon, or, in his name, by Isaiah, Hezekiah, Zerubbabel, or some other inspired person, using Solomon's character as a vehicle for the

heavenly warnings therein contained; in the same way as some have thought the Book of Job to have been written by Ezra? The mere differences of style, perhaps, will hardly prove the author other than Solomon: considering that the Proverbs and Canticles are both poems; which description applies to Ecclesiastes but in part: considering also that at least as marked a difference subsists between those compositions and the Prayer at the Dedication of the Temple: yet all these are confessedly Solomon's.

But it is sufficient to our present purpose, that Ecclesiastes was written in Solomon's name by inspiration of the Holy Ghost. For thus, as in the supposed case of Job, the foundation would be laid in historical truth; the Unerring Recorder would not represent him as either a penitent or a reprobate, contrary to the real fact. The simple question therefore will be, Does the Book represent its author as a penitent? does it at all imply itself to have been written after such a fall as that of Solomon? Does it encourage us to take that view of his case which all who honour and believe the Communion of Saints would wish to take if they could?

First, the Book is clearly written in the character of an *aged* man, of one who had lived long enough to give thorough trial to the vanities both of youth and of middle age. This I take to be so clear that it need only just be mentioned. Now Solomon was but fifty-eight at the time of his death, by the most probable reckoning.

Next, consider whether the argument of the Book will not be much more complete if we suppose it the termination of all its author's wanderings, than if we imagine him again falling away, and striking off afresh, and more wildly than ever, into those faults which he had found to be vanity of vanities. For, as was above remarked, the history of his fall is very unlike that of David's. It was no sudden burst of passion, but the gradual perversion of a mind accustomed to please itself with the flower, the best of everything, whether in the way of speculation divine or human, or in the honours and enjoyments of this present

world. We have already compared the description in Ecclesiastes with the communication in the historical books of the various pursuits in which he sought to excel, and have seen how critically the two coincide. The history goes on from that enumeration straight to the mention of his fall, as the natural consequence of his unlimited self-indulgence: the Confessions (for so surely Ecclesiastes may be rightly termed), make no mention of any fall into grievous sin, but simply describe their author as having, it is not said how, discovered his own nothingness and folly: not sinking, however, into morbid melancholy, but bracing himself up with the sober yet thrilling conclusion, "Fear God and keep His commandments, for this is the whole [duty] of man." What I mean is this, were one to light for the first time on the Book of Ecclesiastes, and read it without previous knowledge of Solomon's history, one would certainly feel curious to know what had happened to bring the person, so spoiled by fortune, and so far gone in spoiling himself, to a truer sense of things. If, feeling such curiosity, one further met with the First Book of Kings, would not this be a natural thought: Here is the secret of this great king's conversion; he went on, as many do, indulging himself merely because he could afford it; he kept not his soul back from any good, until his indulgences had plunged him into deadly sin. Suppose him then awakened, and the tenor of this book is accounted for.

One obvious objection to this reasoning would be, the omission of such expressions as would seem most natural in a person, snatched (if this hypothesis be correct) as a brand out of the burning. There are no deep, earnest words of passionate self-abhorrence, such as many would expect in such a case, who might allege perhaps the language of David in his penitency. To this it might be replied, that whatever solution would account for the silence of the narrative on Solomon's repentance, would account also for its not being expressly recorded, or brought out strongly, in this his public confession. We have seen what occurred to an ancient writer: that Solomon avoided

being set up as an example of penitence, counting himself unworthy, and choosing rather to do penance, as it were, after his death, in the doubtful or unfavourable judgment of God's people concerning him. And it is easy to conceive, how a deep sense of his fault and frailty might cause him purposely to abstain from all bitter and touching language, such as would draw attention to his change of heart, and make him, like his father, a model of holy compunction. Not to dwell on that which is evident, and of which the pastoral care gives constant experience; how very different, in different persons, are the words and tones of contrition equally unfeigned. It would be a gross error to exact from people of rough, downright, and silent mood, the overflowings which are natural to open, unreserved tempers; or from men of refined education and deep thought, the frank disclosures of the ruder and simpler sort; why, then, should the calm, philosophical tone of the Book of Ecclesiastes be deemed inconsistent with a troubled and broken spirit? Perhaps, too, the observation may not be irrelevant here, which was made before concerning his writings in general; that they designedly omit all reference to the Jewish œconomy; which omission could not so well consist with express confession of apostasy by idol-worship.

Supposing that for these, or any other reasons, it seemed good to the Unerring Informer to leave the expression of Solomon's penitence more or less faint and ambiguous; the Book of Ecclesiastes seems very well to answer to what would be looked for from one writing under such Influence. From time to time we meet with expressions which acquire in this way a very affecting significance. He seems as one approaching a subject which lay heavy at his heart, but restrained somehow from more than faint allusions to it. Consider in this light the following passage, "There is a time when one man ruleth over another to his own hurt. And so I saw the wicked buried, who had come and gone from the place of the holy, and they were forgotten in the city where they had so done[x]."

[x] Eccles. viii. 9, 10.

And again, "I applied .... to know the wickedness of foliy even of foolishness and madness; and I find more bitter than death the woman, whose heart is snares and nets, and her hands as bands: whoso pleaseth God shall escape from her, but the sinner shall be taken by her[y];" a passage which leads directly to the remembrance of the *cause* of Solomon's fall. Again, observe the emphasis laid, in the following verses, on God's prolonging a man's days, and compare it with the promise given to Solomon: "If thou wilt walk in My commandments, then I will lengthen thy days." "Though a sinner do evil an hundred times, *and his days be prolonged*, yet surely I know that it shall be well with them that fear God, which fear before Him: but it shall not be well with the wicked, *neither shall he prolong his days*[z]." Again, in a part of the treatise peculiarly marked by the same sententious style which prevails in the Book of Proverbs, we read, "Dead flies cause the ointment of the apothecary to send forth a stinking savour; so doth a little folly him that is in reputation for wisdom and honour[a];" the application of which is obvious. And may we not imagine a certain pang of conscience mingled with the wording of such a verse as this? "Better is a poor and a wise child, than an old and foolish king, who will no more be admonished[b]?"

To these occasional indications in the book itself, we may add what St. Jerome testifies of the general opinion of the Jews of his time:—

"The Hebrews say that the book is Solomon's, repenting for the offence he had given to God in the matter of the women whom he took to himself, relying, as he did, too much on his wisdom and riches[c]."

As far as the tradition of the earlier Hebrews can be gathered from the apocryphal books, I know of nothing to contradict this statement. The Wisdom of Solomon, indeed, contains hardly anything which bears at all on the question: except that it seems not very probable

[y] Eccles. vii. 25, 26. [z] Ibid. viii. 12, 13. [a] Ibid. x. 1.
[b] Ibid. iv. 13. [c] Comm. in Ecclesiasten, cap. i. t. 3. 392, ed. Vall.

that such an exposition of the folly of idolatry as the later chapters contain, could be put into the mouth of one who was understood to have died an impenitent idolater. Also, there is one expression, which might seem to confess inexcusable thoughtlessness on the highest of all subjects. He says of wisdom, "All good things together came to me with her, and innumerable riches in her hands; and I rejoiced in them all, because wisdom goeth before them: *and I knew not that she was the mother of them* [d]." As far as it goes, this agrees well enough with the frame of mind described in Ecclesiastes. However, it must be admitted that this Book of Wisdom, noble and admirable as it is in many respects, can hardly be relied on for its views of the ancient Jewish history. In its sketch of the Exodus, e.g., it misrepresents the gift of manna, as though, "serving to the appetite of the eater," it "tempered itself to every man's liking [e];" whereas we read in the Book of Numbers, that its taste was but as fresh oil, and that its insipidity gave rise to a fatal mutiny in the camp [f]. And generally this book describes those who came out of Egypt as objects of God's unmixed favour. We cannot therefore quite depend on the impressions it would give concerning Solomon.

It is more interesting to observe the manner in which the son of Sirach speaks of him. He evidently took Solomon for his model; and many of his sayings, for aught we know, are preserved in the Book of Ecclesiasticus. Thus, then, he commemorates Solomon's fall and punishment. "Thou didst bow thy loins unto women, and by thy body thou wast brought into subjection. Thou didst stain thy honour, and pollute thy seed, so that thou broughtest wrath upon thy children, and wast grieved for thy folly [g]." This last clause certainly sounds like a direct assertion of Solomon's repentance. But I fear it will be found, on comparison with the original, one of the few oversights of our translators. All the copies of the LXX. appear to read *κἀτενυγὴν*, not *κατενυγῆς*, *ἐπὶ τῇ ἀβροσύνῃ σου*: not, "thou didst feel compunction," but,

[d] Wisdom vii. 11, 12.
[e] Ibid. xvi. 21.
[f] Num. xi.
[g] Ecclus. xlvii. 19, 20.

"it saddens my heart to think of it." Still, the tone of what follows may be thought to encourage the more favourable judgment. "So the kingdom was divided ... but the Lord will never leave off His mercy, neither shall any of His works perish ... wherefore He gave a remnant unto Jacob, and out of him a root unto David ... Thus rested Solomon with his fathers [h]."

On the whole, comparing the hints of Holy Scripture with the relics of tradition, whether Jewish or Christian, on this interesting question, it would perhaps be safe to say, that the evidence in favour of him rather preponderates, yet not so decidedly, but that we have reason to think the matter was left in designed obscurity. We pass from that page of sacred history which contains his name, with hope indeed, but not with that joyful hope, which commonly accompanies the departure of those who are named in Scripture as the Lord's Beloved. Now, that such a point should be even doubtful, is surely a very awful dispensation of God's Providence, and ought to fill such an age as this with alarm, for the ultimate tendency of the knowledge and wisdom and ingenuity on which it so prides itself. High civilization, as far as it goes, what is it but that very condition, which proved so fatal to this great king? a condition which enables each person to take to himself more and more of the very best in the several departments of life which come within the range of each respectively? How can it then be otherwise than ruinous, except it be met by a corresponding enforcement of the Christian principle of self-denial?

Looking again to Solomon as an emblem of the Church in her flourishing worldly estate,—of her πολιτικὸς βιὸς, so an ancient Father expresses it,—we cannot well doubt that we see a significant warning of the peril brought on her by close union and alliance with the powers of the earth. We see in his fall how hard, I had almost said how impossible it is, for her to enjoy together the best of everything; to keep up her own impartial discipline, and yet be popular with the many and in favour with princes.

[h] Ecclus. xlvii. 21—23.

We see in the doubt which hangs over the close of his life, an alarming correspondence with that which hangs over the consummation of the Scripture prophecies concerning the Church in this world; whether such a blessing be yet in store for her, as shall realize on earth the brilliant predictions, of which Solomon in all his glory was the visible emblem; or whether the pollutions which she has contracted by too free intercourse with the world, will not gather on her more hopelessly, so that her last scene should rather resemble those of Sodom, or Babylon, or Jerusalem.

Finally, we see, if I mistake not, a plain rule for the Church's conduct, in cases where the question lies between spiritual privileges and visible external advantages; e. g., between an Establishment on the one hand, and on the other hand the restoration of godly discipline, or the integrity of the ministerial succession. If Solomon, though he chose practical wisdom alone, fell, we can but hope not irretrievably, by the seductions of worldly wisdom, riches, and honour, heaped on him over and above; how dare we expect to stand upright, if we choose for our Church, or for ourselves, so much only of true wisdom as we can get without foregoing those inferior things? The conclusion, in short, which I come to as a Churchman, is this: that it is the part of Faith to leave the *Establishment* as a great temporal blessing, in the hands of Him who knows whether we shall improve or abuse it; but that our fears, our jealousies, our prayers, our efforts, should be mainly, not to say exclusively, directed to the preservation and well-being of the Church Catholic among us, *as such;* that we may restore what is gone to decay, and strengthen the things which remain and are ready to die; lest our work be found at last wilfully imperfect before our God.

THE JEWISH NATION, AND GOD'S DEALINGS WITH THEM,

Paralleled with Individual Christians, and God's Dealings with them.

THIS perhaps may be done with good advantage, as supplying

I. An evidence (not always taken notice of) of the divine authority of the Old Testament in particular.

II. A strong reason for studying that portion of the Holy Scriptures, especially the Prophets, more than is usually done.

III. As directing us where we are in most danger, if we, as individual Christians, are most likely to transgress in the same way that the Jews did as a nation; viz. on the side of *hypocrisy*; the threefold nature of which would be explained at large[a].

I. 1. As to the first, compare Warburton's "Divine Legation," iv. § 6, (Works, ii. 649, 50,) and the extract from Spencer[b] in the note, where the divinity of the Ritual Law is proved from its capability of a like double purpose.

Let it be considered whether there be not a peculiar evidence of divinity in this—that, whereas other pictures of man represent him more as he is to his neighbour and himself, the Bible only represents him as he is towards God. It being requisite for this purpose that God's dealings should be known as well as man's. The contrast may be drawn both with Pagan philosophy and corrupt or fanatical forms of revealed religion since the Gospel.

This therefore, of itself, being a great argument of supernatural wisdom, the addition of the following circumstance

[a] See Butler, i. 332, and note; Oley's Pref. to Jackson, p. 2; Jackson, i. 650—54, 692—738.

[b] De Leg. Heb. Rit., p. 218, (quoted by Warburton).

heightens it still more: viz., that the first detailed and regular exhibition of these dealings was not with an individual, but with the body of the Jewish people.

2. The fact is first to be established. And it is to be made out by an attentive comparison of the history of this people with what conscience and experience tell us.

Class their errors according to the four first Commandments. Or take them in some of the most remarkable periods of their story,—beginning of course from the time when they began to be God's peculiar people. Consider their sins in the wilderness,—which have been pointed out, first by our Saviour in His temptation, and afterwards by S. Paul, as the very patterns of what we individually are most exposed to. Compare particularly their conduct, when they knew themselves to be in the immediate presence of God, with the conduct of Christians with regard to the Holy Spirit.

Take them in the time of Samuel, and compare them with Christians dealing politically, and condescending to worldly ways and accommodations.

Take them in the time of the Kings, and compare them with wicked Christians still keeping up outward conformity.

Take them after the Captivity, and compare them with zealous and orthodox, but worldly, selfish, sensual, or indevout Christians.

Take, finally, their conduct to our Saviour, which is necessary to complete this view, and where we have, more particularly, the sanction of the New Testament for considering them as the representative of bad Christians. For these last are said often to crucify Christ afresh.

And consider them throughout as deceiving themselves more than any one else, of which the character of Balaam affords a remarkable instance.

3. The complete correspondence, visible throughout, between the Jewish nation and bad Christians is, of itself, enough to shew an intended analogy.

But it may be confirmed by direct passages from Holy Scripture, either, first, referring to and asserting the thing itself; or secondly, by parallel truths which imply it—such as exhibit the correspondence of God's dealings with the Jewish people, with those to individual Christians; in the way of promise—threatening—suspension of punishment—finally in the general analogy of the two covenants.

4. Here unfold, (*α*) the exceeding improbability that such a thought would ever have come into an impostor's head, for such an one would never have represented his *hero* so untoward. (Whereas, if the history be not true, it is certain, from the uniformity of the representation, that it must have been the product of one impostor,—impossible as, again, this is both from the historical evidence, and from variety of style.)

β. The great difficulty of keeping it up, supposing it had done so, through compositions of such variety. Apply Paley's argument from the identity of our blessed Lord's character.

γ. The still greater difficulty of keeping up the analogy, so as to represent, by the conduct of the nation, a continual type of man's conduct towards his God,—and this difficulty quite gratuitous, for no possible reason can be alleged why a person should have involved himself in it. If he wanted to shew his knowledge of human nature, he would, surely, have given us direct representations of individuals. It is more conceivable his doing the very converse, instructing the nation covertly under the person of an individual, as Warburton supposed of Job. But in the way in which it is done, it is altogether unaccountable without inspiration.

δ. The *absolute impossibility* of doing it, unless a person had in his mind the peculiar doctrines of the Christian religion. This to be made out by a detailed examination of the conduct of the Jews in those points in which it is illustrative of the conduct of Christians with reference to those doctrines.

ε. The positive absence of any such design in the human authors of the Old Testament.

5. The fact having been made out, and its use, as direct evidence, shewn, proceed to a collateral use of it in answering an obvious objection,—viz., the inconsistency of the two series of prophecies which run through the Bible, one with another. They must be considered as addressed to individuals,—the bright ones fulfilled in good Christians, the dark ones in bad Christians.

This would make us less *political* in our speculations about the condition of religion, would hinder us from waiting for a millennium before we dare try to practise perfect righteousness; would make us look at home, instead of compassing sea and land to make one proselyte.

II. A second collateral use would be, the help it would give us in reading the Old Testament, great part of which has been grossly abused, and is now a dead letter to many, for want of attending to this very thing. And here may seem the proper place to answer the notion that, in such places as have been spoken of, the Jewish history answers to the condition of the *whole Church*, rather than of individuals. This, first, proceeds on a misconception of the Covenant; secondly, does harm, encouraging millenarian and enthusiastic notions, and lessening the practical effect of the Old Testament; thirdly, is inconsistent with the passages themselves—e.g. Deut. xxx., (compare Rom. x.) Not but that there is, sometimes, a special Providence exercised over particular Churches, *like* that over the Jews, (see the three first chapters of the Book of Revelation,) but not exactly like, nor universally pledged. This to be considered at large.

III. But the third and greatest use of observing the analogy I have been speaking of, is evidently its bearing upon practice. Under which may be shewn,

α. How, from the nature of Christianity, it gave less and less opening to any form of sin besides hypocrisy, which, therefore, it might be feared, would prevail under it.

β. How, in fact, it has prevailed, especially since Constantine.

γ. What particular forms of it are most to be dreaded now.

δ. And how to be guarded against.

There is a circumstance in the character of the Jewish nation, as represented in the Old Testament, which seems to deserve a more distinct examination than has yet, (as far as I know,) been bestowed upon it. It is their continual relapses into idolatry and unbelief, in the very sight of such astonishing miracles.

This objection is insinuated in his usual tone by Gibbon :—

"The contemporaries of Moses and Joshua had beheld with careless indifference the most amazing miracles. Under the pressure of every calamity, the belief of those miracles has preserved the Jews of a later period from the universal contagion of idolatry; and in contradiction to every known principle of the human mind, that singular people seems to have yielded a stronger and more ready assent to the traditions of their remote ancestors than to the evidence of their own senses [c]."

And I once heard a person, of a tone of mind as different as possible from Gibbon's, express considerable embarrassment on this point. He said "it always seemed to him, as he read, that human nature must have been different in the Jews from what it is in us, otherwise they could never have behaved as they are related to have done, with such evidences as they had of the immediate presence of God."

I am inclined to believe that, upon full consideration of the whole matter, the very representation which occasioned the sneer of the one and the scruple of the other, would be found a divine warning of the deepest consequence to us of this age especially.

But, in order to make out the argument clearly, it is requisite, first, to have the case stated exactly. I will now, therefore, endeavour to give a true account of the conduct of the Israelites, in this respect, from the passage of the Red Sea to the punishment of Korah, that being the last

[c] "Dec. and Fall of Rom. Empire," vol. ii. p. 154. (Murray, 1862).

event recorded of that generation, to which the Mosaic Law was given.

For symptoms of unbelief on the part of the Jews, before they left Egypt, see Exod. v. 21; vi. 9; xiv. 10—12. And subsequently, xv. 24; xvi. 2, 3, 27; xvii. 2—4, 7; xxxii. per totum. Numb. xi., xiii., xiv., xvi. 41; xx. 2—6; xxi. 4, 5; xxv. 1—3; Deut. i. 26—46; vi. 16; ix. 7—24; xxxi. 27; xxxii. 20.

In the very first communication between God and the Jews, through Moses, the temper of distrust and unbelief, natural perhaps under their circumstances, was anticipated by the prophet, and provided against by God. He had ample credentials given him in the three miracles, which he was directed successively to perform, upon their demurring to his claim. His rod was first changed into a serpent, then recovered its former shape; his hand was struck with leprosy, and cleansed in a moment; and he turned water into blood in their sight. These miracles, besides any symbolical meaning they might have, were well adapted to convince eye-witnesses, that the power which was with him could be no other than His, Who "woundeth and maketh whole; Who bringeth down to the grave and raiseth up;" and Who orders the whole material world according to the course of His moral government. And as such, it appears, they were at first received by the Jews:—

"Aaron spake all the words which the Lord had spoken unto Moses, and did the signs in the sight of the people. And the people believed: and when they heard that the Lord had visited the children of Israel, and that He had looked upon their affliction, then they bowed their heads and worshipped [d]."

They gave the same sign of full acquiescence and submission to God, as when they had received His final directions with regard to the Passover, and knew themselves on the eve of complete deliverance from Egypt [e].

But this sound and reasonable state of mind lasted only till the first temptation. When they found that

[d] Exod. iv. 30, 31.

[e] Ibid. xii. 27.

Pharaoh, instead of acceding to the first message from God, only made use of it as a pretence for increasing their burthens, they presently began to complain as if they had seen no miracles at all. "The Lord look upon you and judge: because ye have made our savour to be abhorred in the sight of Pharaoh, and in the eyes of his servants, to put a sword in their hand to slay us[f]." Not that there appears, at this time, to have been anything like settled unbelief in their hearts. They spoke unreflectingly, in a tone of childish complaint, according to the irksome feelings of the moment. Or, it may be, the notice of a magick art may have crossed their minds; since it is certain that two, out of the three, miracles which had just been exhibited to them, were afterwards counterfeited, with a certain degree of success, by the sorcerers of Pharaoh. However it were, we do not find that this passing shadow of mistrust drew upon them any severe reproof[g]; or that it at all returned during their continuance in Egypt. Indeed, the whole of that time was taken up with such a rapid succession of unequivocal, overpowering interferences of Almighty Providence in their favour, that it is hardly possible to conceive them discontented or unbelieving then. It was a time of trial, not for them, but for the Egyptians. But the moment their exemption from actual suffering appeared to cease — the moment they found themselves disappointed in their expectation of perfect ease and security when Pharaoh should have let them go—that moment their peevishness and childish terror, and what is worse, their attachment to the idols and abominations of Egypt[h], returned in full force.

"When Pharaoh drew nigh, the children of Israel lifted up their eyes, and behold, the Egyptians marched after them; and they were sore afraid: and the children of Israel cried out unto the Lord. And they said unto Moses, Because there were no

[f] Exod. v. 21.

[g] It is ascribed (vi. 9) to "anguish of spirit, and cruel bondage," as if the trial was almost *ὑπέρ ἀνθρώπον*, till their faith had the subsequent miracles to ground itself upon.

[h] Cf. Ezekiel xx. 8.

graves in Egypt, hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness? Wherefore hast thou dealt thus with us, to carry us forth out of Egypt? Is not this the word that we did tell thee in Egypt, saying, Let us alone, that we may serve the Egyptians? For it had been better for us to serve the Egyptians, than that we should die in the wilderness [1]."

This they said, although they had warning beforehand what Pharaoh's conduct would be, and that God would baffle it as in former instances: and although they had the visible presence of Jehovah, in a pillar of fire and a cloud, among them. Yet since the Apostle enumerates their passage through the Red Sea, immediately afterwards, among the triumphs of *faith*, we may conclude that these also, like their previous misgivings, vanished before the seasonable expostulation of Moses. And hitherto, although they cannot be acquitted of weakness and timidity, and of a culpable attachment to their old superstitions, they seem clear from the charge of indulged habitual unbelief.

Next, observe the order of time in which their transgressions during the march occurred.

Before examining the particular instances of apostacy, or approaches to it, which occurred during their march in the desert, it is desirable to settle the chronological order of some events, which stand without any determinate marks of time in the Books of Exodus and Numbers: in which our principal guide must, of course, be the enumeration of the journeys and stations of the Israelites in Numbers xxxiii. Upon comparing this with the more detailed narratives in other chapters, the following will be found to be a tolerably correct view of their principal acts of rebellion, arranged in the order of time, with the immediate causes of them.

Seven days after their deliverance they came to Marah, where they murmured because the water was bitter.

One month and fifteen days after their deliverance they came to the wilderness of Sin, where they murmured at want of bread.

[1] Exod xiv. 10—12.

Soon after, to Rephidim or Massah, where they murmured at want of water.

In the third month they came to Mount Sinai, where they murmured at the absence of Moses.

Soon after they came to Taberah, where they rebelled. The cause is not mentioned, but seems to be the same with the next[1].

Soon after to Kibroth-hattaavah, where they murmured at want of flesh to eat, and at having only manna.

Two stages after, to Kadesh, the first time, where they murmured for fear of the Anakims.

Some time after to a place unknown, where they rebelled through jealousy of Moses and Aaron (stirred up by Korah).

Thirty-nine years after leaving Egypt they came to Kadesh for the second time, where they murmured for want of water.

Five months and upwards after this, they came to a place near Mount Hor, where they rebelled through vexation at turning back to avoid Edom.

Thirty-nine years and ten months (*circa*) after the Exodus, they came to the Plains of Moab, where they fell away through enticement from the women of Moab, prompted by Balaam.

The doubtful points in this arrangement are,—

1. The burning at Taberah: the date of which is assigned next before the events at Kibroth-hattaavah, because it is mentioned just before them. But from Numbers xxxiii. 16, it appears that Kibroth-hattaavah was the first stage from Mount Sinai. Taberah, therefore, (if it were a different place, which does not appear from the account in Numbers, but does from Deut. ix. 32,) must be coincident with some other of the stages mentioned there. However, it is not material to the argument where you place it.

2. The rebellion of Korah, which is placed after the provocation about the spies, on the authority of Numbers xxvii. 3: where it is referred to as the *last* great

[1] Ps. lxxviii. 20—22.

instance of God's wrath before the time there spoken of. And it is not placed in Kadesh because of Numbers xiv. 25, "*to-morrow* turn you and get you into the wilderness, by the way of the Red Sea." This direction was indeed disobeyed, by the attack made on the Amalekites, related in the end of the same chapter. But after their signal defeat on that occasion, it is not likely they should stay much longer in Kadesh [k]; probably not long enough for the events related of Korah to happen there. In the margin of Mant's Bible those events are dated 1471 B.C.; but in Dr. Hales's table, annexed to Numbers xxxiii., they are referred to Kadesh, B.C. 1490.

Now, let us review the conduct of the Jews on the march from the Red Sea to Kadesh-Barnea.

In the course of the march above traced out, there is, upon the whole, a gradual degeneracy to be observed in the conduct of the people, from mere childish murmuring, to open and rebellious unbelief. This I understand, especially, of the *first* generation,—those who came out of Egypt with Moses, at twenty years old and upwards. It appears from every account that they were sincere in the faith and thanksgiving they expressed immediately on their deliverance from Egypt [l]. It was hardly possible it should be otherwise; but it is humiliating to observe how soon the impression began to wear out.

I. At Marah. In only three days' march, when they began, as might be expected, to feel the ordinary inconveniences of the desert, they murmured as if God were not with them. "They went three days in the wilderness, and found no water. And when they came to Marah, they could not drink of the waters of Marah, for they were bitter: .... and the people murmured against Moses, saying, What shall we drink [m]?" The word "murmured" is

[k] It is said indeed, Deut. i. 46: "So he abode in Kadesh many days, according to the days that ye abode there." But this may be explained of the whole time, including the forty days while they waited for the spies. "There" is not in the Hebrew: and perhaps the whole clause would be best explained in comparison with the usual time of their abode in any one place.

[l] Exod. xiv. 31; Ps. cvi. 12.

[m] Exod. xv. 22—24.

the same which is afterwards used in the accounts of their most heinous backslidings, and clearly expresses the beginning of the same temper. But the condescension, and if I may so call it, the *sweetness*, of God's dealing with them on this first occasion, is very remarkable. Moses

"cried unto the Lord; and the Lord shewed him a tree, which, when he had cast into the waters, the waters were made sweet: there He made for them a statute and an ordinance, and there He proved them, and said, If thou wilt hearken diligently to the voice of the Lord thy God, and wilt do that which is right in His sight, and wilt give ear to His commandments, and keep all His statutes, I will put none of these diseases upon thee, which I have brought upon the Egyptians: for I am the Lord that healeth thee[n]."

If I were not afraid of indulging fancy, I should say that the very tone of the relation proves this to have been, in the mind of Moses, a most consoling point in their history, whenever he looked back upon it; just as the recollection of the *first* sharp trial, through which God's Providence brings any one, is particularly soothing, whenever it is recalled in after life. To have their peevish cries answered, not only by immediate relief as to the wants of the moment, but also by a renewal of God's general covenant, and a promise of peculiar mercy, if they were not wanting to themselves,—this was a favour so far beyond what he could have dared to desire, that the remembrance of it would naturally go far to keep him from despair, in the worst moments of their subsequent apostasy and unbelief.

II. In the wilderness of Sin.

Those evil moments indeed began early, and were repeated frequently enough, to make every consolation requisite to a person so sensitive as Moses, and placed in a situation of such awful responsibility. The second month of their march was but half spent, and they were, apparently, for the first time, in distress for food, when their murmurings were renewed with more violence than

[n] Exod. xv. 25, 26.

ever: ostensibly against Moses and Aaron, but in reality, as they could not well be ignorant, against God Almighty Himself. Here is one great symptom of the atheistical temper, that they refer what happens to God's instruments and ministers, rather than to His own immediate Providence. For this, Moses had repeatedly to check them: "What are we? your murmurings are not against *us*, but against the *Lord*[o]." Here, too, we have the first indication of their sensual longing for the delights of Egypt. "Would God we had died .... when we sat by the flesh-pots, and when we did eat bread to the full[p]." Accordingly, the manifestation of God's attributes, by which this tumult was silenced, is of a much more awful character than the former one, though not less merciful and forbearing. The congregation are solemnly summoned into God's immediate Presence, with an assurance that He had heard their murmurings; "and it came to pass, that as Aaron spake unto the whole congregation of the children of Israel, that they looked towards the wilderness," (i.e. in front of their line of march, where the pillar of the cloud was,) "and behold, the glory of the Lord appeared in the cloud[q]." It does not appear that they changed their place at all, as afterwards, when the Tabernacle was set up; but immediately upon the denunciation of Aaron, the Presence which they well knew before, but refused to own, rendered itself distinctly visible to them. And then a general declaration was made, (for so I interpret it,) of the manner in which God would provide for their necessities as long as they continued in the desert. "I have heard the murmurings of the children of Israel: speak unto them, saying, At even ye shall eat flesh, and in the morning ye shall be filled with bread; and ye shall know that I am the Lord your God[r]." This was fulfilled with regard to the bread, immediately; and with regard to the flesh, sometime afterwards, on an occasion which seems to be anticipated by Moses here, when

[o] Exod. xvi. 8. [p] Ibid. 3. [q] Ibid. 10.
[r] Ibid. 12.

he says, "that at even the quails came up and covered the camp[s]," (unless we suppose that the quails came this once and ceased; until that later occasion, when they continued a whole month. But the other interpretation seems more according to God's method of trying them; His miraculous stores in general not being opened, till they had been sufficiently proved by want of them).

Bishop Kidder[t] considers it as an aggravation of the murmurs of the Israelites on this and a similar occasion, that they had abundance of cattle with them; and he quotes Exod. xii. 38, and Numb. xxxii. 4, to prove the fact. To which might be added the mention of flocks and herds at the foot of Mount Sinai in Exod. xxxiv. 3, and the great number of victims which were required for the sacrifices there offered. All which would lead one at first sight to imagine that it was not real distress, but the mere wantonness of their appetite, which made them complain as they did at first. But this is inconsistent with the express words of their complaint, "There is nothing at all, beside this manna, before our eyes[u];" as also with the manner of Moses' expostulation with them. And in Deut. viii. 3, it is said, "He humbled thee, and *suffered thee to hunger*, and fed thee with manna." So that we must suppose (which is very conceivable) that the cattle of the Israelites were spent before they came to the wilderness of Sin; except probably a certain number of beasts which were reserved for sacrifice on Mount Sinai. For "they knew not with what they must serve the Lord, till they came thither[x]." It is probable, too, that about the mountain itself they would find a supply for a while; as by all accounts there is much pasturage there[y]. But this would cease when they left the mountain, and plunged into the desert again. And as to the children of Reuben having large quantities of cattle, they had just spoiled the Midianites, a nation very wealthy in cattle; not to mention the conquests which they had made along the bank of the Jordan.

[s] Exod. xvi. 13. [t] See note in Mant's Bible on Numb. xi. 4.
[u] Numb. xi. 6. [x] Exod. x. 26. [y] Cf. Exod. iii. 1.

III. At Rephidim.

The next occasion of their murmuring, mentioned in the Scripture, is the want of water at Rephidim. There is a passage in the Psalms, indeed, which would lead one at first sight to imagine, that the order of time is here inverted, and that the miracle of striking the rock took place before the gift of manna :—

"In the day-time also He led them with a cloud, and all the night with a light of fire. He clave the rocks in the wilderness, and gave them drink as out of the great depths. And they sinned yet more against Him, by provoking the most High in the wilderness. And they tempted God in their heart by asking meat for their lust. Yea, they spake against God ; they said, Can God furnish a table in the wilderness? Behold, He smote the rock, that the waters gushed out, and the streams overflowed ; Can He give bread also? Can He provide flesh for His people[z]?"

But the following verse shews that the Psalmist is speaking of a time subsequent to that at which we are now arrived. "The Lord heard this, and was wroth ; so a fire was kindled against Jacob, and anger also came up against Israel[a];" which being connected in the twenty-sixth and following verses with the gift of quails, and slaughter at Kibroth-hattaavah, may be confidently interpreted of the provocation given, and punishment inflicted, at Taberah, as it is related in Numbers xi. 1—3. We have no reason then to doubt that the trial at Rephidim, or Massah, as it was afterwards called[b], came next in order to that in the wilderness of Sin. The circumstance chiefly to be noted in the demeanour of the Israelites here, is the peculiar direction of their murmurings against Moses personally :—

"The people did chide *with Moses*, and said, Give us water that we may drink ; . . . and the people murmured *against Moses*, and said, Wherefore is this that thou hast brought us up out of Egypt, to kill us and our children and our cattle with thirst? And Moses cried unto the Lord, saying, What shall I do unto this people, they be *almost ready to stone me*[c]!"

[z] Ps. lxxviii. 14, 15, 17—20. [a] Ibid. 21. [b] Exod. xvii. 7.
[c] Ibid. 2, 3, 4.

It should appear also, that for some reason or other, Aaron was not complained of this time. Accordingly, we may remark in God's answer to their complaint, and in the subsequent proceedings, unusual care taken to vindicate the honour and authority of His chosen Mediator:—

"The Lord said unto Moses, Go on before the people, and take with thee of the elders of Israel; and *thy rod, wherewith thou smotest the river, take in thine hand*, and go. Behold, I will stand before thee there upon the rock in Horeb; and *thou shalt smite the rock*, and there shall come water out of it, that the people may drink. And Moses did so in the sight of the elders of Israel[d]."

Also in the combat with the Amalekites, before they had left this very station of Rephidim, a remarkable sign was given them, how essential the mediation of Moses was to the accomplishment of God's purpose concerning them: "It came to pass, when Moses held up his hand, that Israel prevailed: and when he let down his hand, Amalek prevailed[e]." I will not pause here to consider the symbolical or sacramental meaning, which, according to the constant tradition of the early Church, attaches itself to the very attitude of Moses, in that wonder-working prayer. But it is clear that such marks of God's delighting to honour him as these, might well prepare them to see him called, as he was shortly after, to meet God alone in Mount Sinai, and might warn them also against the impiety of seeking any other to go before them, when they well knew his commission had not yet expired.

IV. At Mount Sinai.

And they were content for a while to take this warning. Their behaviour at the foot of Mount Sinai, during that aweful manifestation of God's power, sufficiently shews that, for the time at least, they had learned where to put their trust. Sincerely and heartily they requested that Moses might speak to God for them; and on this one occasion they have the witness of the Omniscient, that

[d] Exod. xvii. 5, 6. [e] Ibid. 11.

they were duly affected by the wonders which were passing around them. "They have well said all that they have spoken. O that there were such a heart in them, that they would fear Me, and keep all My commandments always[f]."

But their obedience was that of mere children; it would not last long, when the object of it was out of sight. Forty days waiting without their leader was enough to destroy the remembrance of the lightnings they had seen, and the voice of God which they had heard; and "in their hearts" they "turned back again into Egypt, saying unto Aaron, Make us gods," i.e. an image of God, "to go before us; for as for this Moses, which brought us out of the land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him[g]." It is observable, that in the very words of their apostasy they acknowledge the strong impression which preceding events, and especially the conference with God on Mount Sinai, had made on them, concerning the supremacy of Moses. There is no talk here, as in a more outrageous sedition afterwards, of choosing a captain to return to Egypt; but, as Aaron had at first introduced them to Moses as their deliverer, so, they now seem to have imagined it would rest with him to find a substitute for his lost brother.

Aaron was alarmed at their sedition, and in an evil hour gave them what they demanded,—a visible emblem of God's presence, such as they had been accustomed to see in Egypt. He probably thought it would be a means of keeping them quiet, till Moses should return. And it is suggested by the commentators on Exodus xxxii. 24, that he probably was not concerned in the actual framing of the idol. He only "cast the gold into the fire." The calf which "came out" being fashioned by some others, afterwards. He further humoured himself in this wicked condescension by using the name of the true God: "To-morrow," said he, "is a feast *to the Lord*[h]." And, indeed, there is no doubt that this sin of the Israelites, heinous as it was, did not amount to the worst kind of apostasy. It was the sin of Jeroboam and Jehu, not of

[f] Deut. v. 28, 29. [g] Acts vii. 39, 40. [h] Exod. xxxii. 5.

Ahab; it was in violation of the second commandment, not the first. This was its formal nature: but if the true purpose and meaning of it be asked, St. Stephen will give an answer[i]. It was not their preferring this or that kind of worship, but it was a general spirit of irreligion which possessed them. "In their hearts they turned back again into Egypt[j]," wished themselves there again, in the midst of the sinful enjoyments, of which, as it appears, they had before partaken but too largely: and to indulge their fancies with as near a resemblance as possible of the pageants and pleasures they regretted, they set up a model of the favourite idol of Memphis, and instituted, in honour of him, a feast of licentious revelry. "The people sat down to eat and to drink, and rose up to play[k]."

I would here observe, by the way, that a great deal of the difficulty, which we sometimes find, with our modern notions, in comprehending how idolatry should have been so fascinating to the minds of our fathers, is removed upon coming closer to them, as we are enabled to do by such descriptions as this; in which it is clearly indicated, that the accompaniments of the idol, not the idol itself, were the real attraction to the unstable minds of the Israelites. They crowded eagerly round the shrine of the golden calf, not for any real confidence they had in the molten image, but because it brought back to them in imagination, partly too in actual enjoyment, the gay and pompous holidays, which in the intervals of their labour they had known in Egypt, and which they liked so well, as to be well-nigh reconciled, for their sake, to the degradation and toil they endured there. In a word, idolatry was fascinating then, because the profession of it was a step to the unrestrained enjoyment of sensual and worldly pleasures. Now that the same liberties are, somehow or other, found reconcileable with purer modes of professed belief, there is no longer the same temptation to it.

To return to the sacred history. The forty days and nights of the Prophet's residence on the mountain were

[i] See Div. Leg., t. ii. p. 572. [j] Acts vii. 39. [k] Exod. xxxii. 6.

now over, the code of divine law was completed, and he was preparing to descend with it among his countrymen; in earnest hope, no doubt, that he had now seen the last of their disobedience; that, for the future, he should have the happy task of governing a nation such as God would delight to favour. In the height of such (not unreasonable) expectations, to a person of his keen and sensitive temperament, there is no saying what the event might have been, if he had come down unprepared upon them in the midst of their idolatrous banquet: and therefore it may be taken as an especial mark of God's condescending mercy to him, that He gave him notice beforehand of what was going on, received his mediation, and gave him hope of their pardon[l]. As it was, he does not seem ever to have recovered this cruel disappointment of the natural wishes of his heart, as pastor and guide of his people. The melancholy tone of his farewell warning in Deuteronomy, seems the expression of a thought but too familiar to his mind—"I know that after my death ye will utterly corrupt yourselves, . . . and evil will befall you in the latter days; because ye will do evil in the sight of the Lord[m]."

These were his calm forebodings, uttered not without the spirit of prophecy; but his first impulse, when he saw what they had been doing, was one of impetuous indignation. For it is observable, that the meekness for which he is so much praised was by no means a part of his natural character. If, indeed, the word *meek*, according to its use in old English, and now in the dialects of some counties, do not rather mean sensitive and tender, nay irritable. Such a construction, I apprehend, would be not unsuitable to its Hebrew etymology. However, there is hardly any good person in the whole Scripture history, of whom we are so often told, that he "waxed wroth," that "his spirit was provoked[n]," and the like. Nothing could be more natural than for such a man, at such a moment, to dash the tables of the Covenant to the ground, newly

[l] Exod. xxxii. 7, 8. [m] Deut. xxxi. 29. [n] Cf. Exod. xvi. 20; Numb. xi. 10, xvi. 15; Ps. cvi. 33.

written, as they were, with the finger of God Himself; and so to express, in the liveliest manner, their wilful frustration of God's merciful intentions towards them. But the conduct of the people is what I am more immediately concerned with: and it must be allowed that there are no symptoms here of that *stubbornness* in evil which they evinced on some subsequent occasions; else they would not so easily have allowed their idol to be burned and stamped small to powder, and the ashes cast into the brook which furnished their ordinary drink[o]—a ceremony well fitted both to express abhorrence of their sin, and to prevent its renewal; both as it made it impossible for any fragments of the calf to be preserved and venerated as relics, and as the taste of that water might be remembered even by their children, and associated all their lives long with the idea of their sin and danger. Accordingly, we find it copied, in part at least, by King Josiah, in his attempt to reform the Jewish people:—

"He brought out the grove from the house of the Lord, without Jerusalem, unto the brook Kidron, and burned it at the brook Kidron, and stamped it small to powder, and cast the powder thereof upon the graves. . . . The altars which Manasseh had made in the two courts of the house of the Lord, did the king beat down, and brake them down from thence, and cast the dust of them into the brook Kidron[p]."

It is evident, also, that if the Jews had persisted in their rebellion, they would not so easily have allowed three thousand of their number to be slain unresistingly by the Levites alone. One passage there is which intimates, I think, that supernatural interference was used to enforce their submission. "I turned," says Moses, "and came down from the mount, and *the mount burned with fire*[q]." By which it would seem that the flame, which had abated on Mount Sinai during forty days, broke out again in their sight, just as the prophet returned among them with the two Tables in his hands. And they were

[o] Cf. Deut. ix. 21. [p] 2 Kings xxiii. 6, 12. [q] Deut. ix. 15.

not as yet sufficiently hardened, to go on rebelling with such tokens of God's anger absolutely before their eyes.

Thus, then, by the blessing of God on the persevering mediation of his faithful servant Moses[r] (not without intelligible and most gracious hints of a better Mediator out of sight), the children of Israel are again reconciled to their God, and the Levitical dispensation goes on towards its perfection. Only it appears that, (for a memorial how nearly they had forfeited, on this occasion, the privilege of God's peculiar presence,) the Tabernacle instead of being pitched in the midst of the camp, which was afterwards its appointed place, was stationed by Moses at some distance in the wilderness, and so continued as long as they remained by Mount Sinai[s].

V. At Taberah and Kibroth-hattaavah.

But in only three days' march from that favoured station, their murmurings, we find, are renewed upon slighter grounds than before, and therefore more inexcusably. There is no distinct mark of time affixed to the brief notice of what happened at Taberah; but for reasons stated above, it may be conjectured that it is not related in order of time, but brought into the same chapter with the gift of quails and the plague at Kibroth-hattaavah, on account of the similarity of subject. The same account may be given of the ground of complaint in both these instances: they were in no absolute or pressing want, but like spoiled children, having obtained so much, they tried or tempted God by their murmurings for what more they could get. At Taberah "they spake against God also, saying, Shall God prepare a table in the wilderness? He smote the stony rock indeed, that the waters gushed out, and the streams flowed withal: but can He give bread also, or provide flesh for His people[t]?" As much as to say, "We have lived long enough upon water and manna: if God be with us indeed, let Him now shew it, by providing us with our accustomed food." At Kibroth-hattaavah they spoke out as it seems still more openly; their complaints

[r] Exod. xxxii. 34; xxxiii. 2, 14. [s] See Exod. xxxiii. 7—11; comp. Numb. ii. 17. [t] Ps. lxxviii. 20, 21, P.-B. V.

would be even ludicrous, from the vehemency with which they expressed themselves in so slight a matter, if it were not for the depth of serious evil they betray within them. "We remember the fish, which we did eat in Egypt freely; the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlick: but now our soul is dried away, there is nothing at all, beside this manna, before our eyes[u]."

These were private and domestic murmurings, "every man weeping in his family, in the door of his tent." We do not read of any seditious *assemblage*. And, as by families they sinned, so by families it should seem they were punished. The plague which fell upon them at Kibroth-hattaavah appears to have distinguished those who lusted; the fire at Taberah raged in one part only of the camp. Painful as their transgression was to Moses, and provoking to God, it was not an act of direct apostasy or rebellion; it did not therefore impede their progress. They advanced to Kadesh-Barnea, to the outskirts of the promised land, and there entered on a new career of perverseness, provocation, and disappointment.

VI. At Kadesh-Barnea.

It is obvious, upon comparing the two accounts in Numbers and Deuteronomy, that the first proposal of sending men to search the land came from the people, in answer to an animating exhortation of Moses upon their arrival on the confines of Canaan. Whether or no there entered into their motives for this proposal anything of cowardice or unbelief, is not stated: their conduct before and after would warrant our suspecting as much; and if so, the consent, which God gave to this measure, and to the delay of forty days which it occasioned, might perhaps be rightly regarded as an indulgence given in anger, like the gift of quails before, or the permission afterwards granted to Balaam to accompany the messengers of Balak. At any rate, their hesitation now, and their too ready discouragement afterwards, sufficiently shew the wisdom of not leading them by the

[u] Numb. xi. 5.

straight road from Egypt to Canaan, according to the reason assigned in Exodus xiii. 17, "God led them not through the way of the land of the Philistines, although that was near; for God said, Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt[v]."

The first generation that came out of Egypt was evidently more unwarlike than the second. The remembrance of their slavish and Egyptian habits hung about them: but their children, trained up in the hardships of the desert, were naturally better fitted for the conquest of the Amorites; and hence we do not read anywhere of *their* refusing to go on for fear of the enemy. Rebellious and guilty enough they were, but they shewed no symptoms of cowardice.

It is also worth considering, whether the approbation, with which Moses received the proposal to search the land, was not in some measure displeasing to God. This is the first occasion on which he mentions his own exclusion from Canaan: "Also the Lord was angry with me for your sakes, saying, Thou also shalt not go in thither[x]." Now there is nothing said of the part which he took in this transaction, which looks at all like disobedience or unbelief; except it be that when the people proposed it at first, "the saying pleased him well." But possibly there might be something said or done hastily, which is not left on record. I should hardly think this passage an anticipation of what took place afterwards, upon their second arrival at Kadesh, (1.) from the way in which it stands with the context, and (2.) from the mention made in it of Joshua, ("But Joshua the son of Nun, which standeth before thee, he shall go in thither: encourage him, for he shall cause Israel to inherit it[y]:") compared with what is stated in Numbers, that the change in Joshua's name, from Oshea to Jehoshua, took place on this occasion[z]. "The Lord shall save" (by him) was a most natural name for Moses to give to Joshua when he first knew of that great honour, for which, if piety would have

[v] Cf. Div. Leg. [x] Deut. i. 37. [y] Ibid. 38.
[z] Numb. xiii. 16.

allowed, he could have envied him so much. By the way, how natural and affecting is the manner in which Moses always speaks on this topic in the Book of Deuteronomy. In the passage before us, for instance, Deut. i. 37. 38, he interrupts his recitation of God's reproof at Kadesh, to mention it; the name of Joshua, and the circumstances connected with it, being brought to his mind by the name of Caleb, in ver. 36:—

"There shall not one of these men of this evil generation see that good land, ... save Caleb the son of Jephunneh; he shall see it, ... because he hath wholly followed the Lord. Also the Lord was angry with me for your sakes, saying, Thou also shalt not go in thither. But Joshua the son of Nun, which standeth before thee, he shall go in thither: encourage him: for he shall cause Israel to inherit it."

Then, in verse 39, he goes on and speaks in the person of God again: "Moreover your little ones, which ye said should be a prey, ... they shall go in thither, and unto them will I give it[a]."

This is an instance of what Paley calls "naturalness," such as an imitator or impostor could hardly have devised.

To proceed. When the spies returned to the camp, they brought their report first to Moses, in council probably with the elders: and to him their report of the fertility of Canaan was favourable. "It is a good land which the Lord our God doth give us[b];" "and surely it floweth with milk and honey[c]." But they made no secret of the alarm which had seized on them at sight of the Anakims. And when they found that their leaders and two of their own number were faithful to their trust, they were not ashamed to contradict, before the general assembly, the statement which they had just made to the council. "The land, through which we have gone to search it, is

[a] Is not this regret of Moses a warning from the Holy Ghost against any, even a transient, compromise with the murmurers of the world, on the part of those entrusted to guide them?

[b] Deut. i. 25. [c] Numb. xiii. 27.

a land that eateth up the inhabitants thereof[d];" that is, "they pine away in it for famine." They do not, however, dwell long upon this pretence, as being conscious that it was too easily refutable; they dwell rather upon the dangerous warfare which awaited them; Caleb only and Joshua persisting in the truth, and endeavouring to "still the people before Moses," i.e. to get them to hear him patiently. The murmurs, thus excited and continued through the night, broke out in the morning in open mutiny of the most insolent and obstinate kind. Not Moses and Aaron only, but the Lord Himself, was now the avowed mark of their reproaches—"Wherefore hath the Lord brought us into this land, to fall by the sword, that our wives and our children should be a prey? Were it not better for us to return into Egypt? And they said one to another, Let us make a captain, and let us return into Egypt[e]." A threat which, as we are informed in Nehemiah, they actually accomplished, as far as choosing a new captain[f]. Moses and Aaron, having reminded them once of past mercies in vain[g], overpowered by the tempest, could only appeal to Heaven: they "fell on their faces before all the assembly[h]." Caleb and Joshua, manfully resisting, were on the point of being stoned to death, when "the glory of the Lord appeared in the tabernacle of the congregation, before all the children of Israel[i]."

There is no part of the Pentateuch more aweful in some respects, more consoling in others, or altogether more instructive, than the account of what followed upon this divine interposition. The Almighty condescends, as it were, to take counsel with Moses, reasoning with him, probably in the hearing of the people, as He had, once before, in the mountain apart; so that both the course of His Providence, and the generous patriotism of Moses, might be thoroughly understood among them. First we hear the peremptory mandate of His sovereign justice; then the modification of it by His infinite mercy; and last, and to many most surprising of all, the little effect,

[d] Numb. xiii. 32. [e] Ibid. xiv. 3, 4. [f] Nehem. ix. 17.
[g] Deut. i. 29—31. [h] Numb. xiv. 5. [i] Ibid. 10.

in the way of amendment, which this astonishing interference produced.

"I will smite them with the pestilence, and disinherit them, and will make of thee a greater nation and mightier than they[k]." Certainly no exception could be taken to the justice of this decree: the wickedness of the Israelites had been so great, that it might well be accounted sufficient to cancel the promises to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: indeed, the letter of those promises, the most material of them, at least, might be exactly fulfilled by the preservation of Moses himself and the other few who continued faithful. The tone of Moses' intercession, compared with that on Mount Sinai, shews how deeply he felt their relapse, and that the strongest assurances of God's placability, which he had before received, were no more than he needed to support him now. He dares not mention the particular covenant with their fathers,—he passes it by, as if it were quite forfeited, and rests his hope entirely upon God's general Providence, and upon that solemn revelation of His mercifulness, which had been made to himself on Mount Sinai, in terms which may truly be called a partial anticipation of the Gospel. Upon God's general Providence, in these words:—

"The Egyptians shall hear it, ... and they will tell it to the inhabitants of this land . . . . if Thou shalt kill all this people as one man, then the nations which have heard the fame of Thee will speak, saying, Because the Lord was not able to bring this people into the land which He sware unto them, therefore He hath slain them in the wilderness[l]."

That is, whatever purposes with regard to other nations the deliverance of the Jews was intended to answer, in witnessing to the true God and His attributes, in confounding idol-worship, and the like, would be to human sense disappointed and cast aside, if His wrath were now to have its full way against them. This is his first plea; but he chiefly leans upon God's love of mercy, so graciously proclaimed and so long experienced:—

"Now I beseech Thee, let the power of my Lord be great,

[k] Numb. xiv. 12. [l] Ibid. 13—16.

according as Thou hast spoken, saying, The Lord is long-suffering, and of great mercy, forgiving iniquity and transgression, and by no means clearing the guilty, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation. Pardon, I beseech Thee, the iniquity of this people according unto the greatness of Thy mercy, and as Thou hast forgiven this people, from Egypt even until now [m]."

Of which verses the 18th, perhaps, would give more exactly the meaning of the original, if it ran thus: "Forgiving iniquity and transgression, *yet* He will by no means acquit, visiting," &c. As much as to say, that God's power and wisdom are such, that He will find a way to reconcile acquittal with punishment,—a matter of which human reason might well despair: and accordingly we see that even Moses himself, to whom the promise was made, prefaces his appeal to it with these words—"I beseech Thee, *let the power of my Lord be great*, according as Thou hast spoken;" intimating that he was well aware the thing he asked required omnipotence to accomplish it; and that he could hardly have ventured on such a petition, if he had not God's own words to encourage him.

God, in reply, accepts the mediation of Moses, and grants the pardon he desired to the nation, yet accompanying it with such manifestations of His anger against the guilty individuals, as should effectually vindicate the honour of His Name, both among the nations who were then witnessing what He did, and among all future generations to whom it should be made known by His word:—

"I have pardoned according to thy word; yet, for all that, the whole earth shall be filled with the glory of the Lord [n]."

(This phrase indicates something very extraordinary and instructive in the exhibition of God's attributes, being especially applied by two of the Prophets to the publication of the Gospel itself.)

"For, as to all those men which have seen My glory, and My miracles which I did in Egypt and in the wilderness, and have

[m] Numb. xiv. 17—19. [n] וְאוּלָם Numb. xiv. 20, 21; see Gen. xlviii. 19; Job xiii. 3, 4; Isa. xi. 9; Habak. ii. 14.

tempted Me now these ten times," (i.e. repeatedly, very often [o],) "and have not hearkened unto My Voice, I swear that they shall not see the land which I sware unto their fathers, neither shall any of them *that provoked* Me see it [p]."

(Perhaps, in the last clause, it had better be "provoke," or rather "despise" Me [q]; which will extend the threat to those among the children, who might be guilty of their fathers' sins.)

The mitigated sentence being thus promulgated to Moses himself, the manner in which it was to be executed is afterwards distinctly declared to the whole congregation. Their steps were to be measured back again to the edge of the Red Sea, and their time was to be spent in a round of wearisome marches, till that whole generation had mouldered away. In this they were taken at their own word, and the sentence, which they had passed on themselves in their spleen and discontent, was actually brought to pass. The very language, which they had used in their peevish complaints, is here, as it should seem, adopted in the decree pronounced against them:—

"Your *carcases* shall fall in this wilderness; your children shall be *wandering*," (literally "feeding," leading a shepherd's life,) "until your *carcases shall be consumed* in the wilderness, and ye shall know *My breach of promise* [r]."

(The latter expression is particularly applied in chap. xxx. to the annulling of a vow regularly made). There is every appearance of these being the identical words which had been bandied among the murmuring Israelites in their tent-doors. And to hear themselves thus reminded of them must have been felt as an awful evidence, that they had to do with an omnipresent God,—the Same Who has warned us all, that of "every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment [s]."

To have a due notion of the punishment thus inflicted,

[o] See Gen. xxxi. 41.
[p] Numb. xiv. 22, 23.
[q] מְנַאֲצַי. παροξυνάντες με.
[r] Numb. xiv. 32—34.
[s] St. Matt. xii. 36.

we must take into consideration the small extent of the space between Egypt and Canaan. "There are eleven days' journey from Horeb by the way of Mount Seir unto Kadesh-Barnea[t]." Add the journey from Horeb to the Red Sea, and it will appear, I believe, that they were detained for forty years by the providential spell which was upon them, marching and counter-marching,—the LXX. say wheeling round and round [u],—in a space of country not equalling the distance between London and Edinburgh.

Effectual care, we may observe, was taken, that neither rebels at the time, nor sceptics ever after, should explain away this fearful visitation; as if their continuing in the wilderness had been a mere politic invention of Moses' to detain them, whom he saw as yet unripe for the conquest of Canaan, at a distance from war, till they had died away in the ordinary course of human affairs, and a new generation had sprung up, with whom his project might stand a better chance.

The immediate destruction by pestilence of the ten messengers, who had brought up the evil report of Canaan, and the preservation of Caleb and Joshua alone, was a present earnest of God's truth and unchangeableness in what had been just declared; while the specification, beforehand, of the date of forty years of punishment, corresponding to the forty days of their sin, (for so long the spies had been surveying the land, and aggravating, by each day's search, the guilt of their falsehood and unbelief,) very much lessened, if it did not entirely take away, the possibility of a casual coincidence between the event and the prediction. It certainly would have been most unwise in any, to anticipate, without divine warrant, a thing so little within human calculation, as that there should be no single person of the whole Israelitish host, excepting only three who were named, above the age of sixty years at a given time. The prediction was made more complete, by a promise, that the next generation, "their little ones, who they said should be a

[t] Deut. i. 2.

[u] κατερομβεύσεν αὐτους, Numb. xxxii. 13.

prey," should actually go in, and have personal knowledge of the land which they had despised.

All these particulars, as they are so many marks of true prophecy, so they were mercifully intended, no doubt, to afford the guilty individuals, by the very manner of their punishment, the greater opportunity of repentance. Instead of being cut off at once, they are respited for an indefinite term of years, yet with a certain knowledge that those years will not exceed a fixed number,—as often as they see their brethren falling around them, Joshua only and Caleb continuing in their first vigour, (for this is particularly affirmed of Caleb[v],) they are distinctly reminded of their sin, and the worse danger they had escaped,—and every time they renewed their march in a direction opposite to that of Canaan, they must have done penance, in thought of the bitter disappointment which they had brought on themselves by their own wilfulness, just as they were on the point of entering into rest.

Having thus considered the circumstances of their punishment, let us briefly examine the effect it produced. At first, as was natural, they were filled with shame and regret, and were eager to be allowed to advance: imagining that they might redeem their past offence by their prowess against the enemy. And this they carried so far as to set out contrary to the warnings of Moses, and without the Ark of the Covenant. But they found the passes occupied, were taken at a disadvantage, and driven back to the camp, from whence, having made one more ineffectual effort, by "weeping before the Lord," to obtain a remission of their sentence, they soon set out again upon their comfortless return along the wilderness. On the whole, though their mutinous spirit was a good deal subdued for a while, they were as yet very far indeed from dutiful resignation to God's will. They minded the punishment more than the sin; as they shewed by "going presumptuously up into the hill," just after they had been warned to "turn and take their journey into the wilderness[x]." And before long an occasion arose, which shewed

[v] Josh. xiv. 11.

[x] Deut. i. 40, 43.

but too clearly how lawless and disobedient they still were in heart, I mean the rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram; of which, though the blame must probably be divided, and did not altogether belong to the men of that generation, (for many of them might have died away and many of their children grown up before it took place,) yet they must have been greatly concerned in it, we may say principally; for the leaders of it were seniors and princes of the assembly, and Korah, the first mover of it, was only grandson of Kohath, and first cousin to Moses.

We may fairly, therefore, regard this sedition as the last recorded sin of those who came out of Egypt with Moses; and a melancholy proof it is how little they had profited, taken as a body, by the astonishing dispensations of mingled mercy and justice, by which they had so long been surrounded.

Concerning this sedition, it is observable that there were two distinct parties concerned in it: that of Korah, which consisted principally of Levites, and whose murmurings were chiefly directed against the ecclesiastical supremacy of Aaron and his family[y]; as appears by that expostulation of Moses—"What is Aaron, that ye murmur against him?" whereas to a former set of mutineers he had said, "What are we? your murmurings are not against us, but against the Lord." It appears also by the trial with the censers, in which Moses had no part. There was also another set of rebels, whose complaints were more political and popular, as expressed in the message sent by Dathan and Abiram:—

"Is it a small thing that thou hast brought us up out of a land that floweth with milk and honey, to kill us in the wilderness, except thou make thyself altogether a prince over us? Moreover thou hast not brought us into a land that floweth with milk and honey, ... wilt thou put out the eyes of these men? we will not come up[z]."

[y] At p. 189 of Mr. Keble's Commonplace-Book, the following note occurs: "Korah, (R. H. F.) 1. The evidence he had before him, that God had reserved the Priesthood to the family of Aaron, was not so conclusive as was afterwards vouchsafed. 2. He was certainly sincere."

[z] Numb. xvi. 13, 14.

This complaint Moses, as their civil governor, took of course as more personal against himself: and his remonstrance expresses as much. He was very wroth, and said unto the Lord, "Respect not Thou their offering; I have not taken one ass from them, neither have I hurt one of them." It must, indeed, have been very grating to one who had so devoted himself to the strict administration of Justice, and who had welcomed, with a feeling most contrary to envy, the communication of God's spirit to so many among them, even when it was grudged by his too partial servant Joshua[a]. And this burst of indignation, indeed this whole chapter, is a striking instance of that naturalness which was before remarked as existing even in the most miraculous narratives of the Old Testament, and as deepening a devout man's impression of the ineffable condescension of the Inspiring Comforter throughout. This by the way. I have further to remark, that as the sin of Korah's party seems to have been in some respects different from that of the Reubenites, so their punishment was distinct and appropriate. The order of it, I suppose to have been this. In consequence of a challenge from Moses, the 250 princes who claimed the priesthood had assembled, headed by Korah, and countenanced by the whole congregation, before the Tabernacle early in the morning after the sedition had begun. Then the glory of the Lord appeared, the well-known signs of wrath were given, and the intercession of Moses and Aaron, as before, was accepted,—the congregation apparently submitting and ranging themselves on Moses' side, when they saw and heard the tokens of God's immediate presence: for it is said the elders of Israel went with Moses towards the tabernacles of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, (which it appears by chaps. ii. and iii. would be on the same side of the Tabernacle, viz. the south [b],) and Dathan and Abiram came out as in defiance of his warning, which however was listened to by most of the Israelites; and then that dreadful punishment came upon them; the earth opened her mouth and swallowed them up. But

[a] See Numb. xi. 29.

[b] Numb. ii. 10; iii. 29.

the 250 who offered incense were consumed by fire from the Lord. This, as the case of Nadab and Abihu shewed [c], was the appropriate punishment for such as rushed unworthily into God's immediate presence. By this, therefore, the priesthood of Aaron was vindicated; as the sovereignty of Moses, or rather of God Himself, was by the aweful destruction of Dathan and Abiram.

But the ill effects of Korah's sin did not cease with him, the very next day the seditious spirit was abroad again, and with such fatal effect, that the whole congregation murmured against Moses and Aaron; under pretence of grief and anger, at the death of their brethren: their cry was, "Ye have killed the people of the Lord." And this time the destruction actually commenced which had been so often threatened: there was no time for Moses and Aaron to intercede; the wrath was already gone out from the Lord; the plague was begun, and had destroyed 14,000 souls. The mysterious intercession of the High-Priest whom they had rejected, standing, with the fuming censer in his hand, between the dead and the living, was the sole and effectual instrument of their deliverance. His peculiar mediation being thus dignified, as that of Moses had been before by his abode on Mount Sinai; and being further sealed by the miraculous budding of his rod, as Moses' had been by the preternatural brightness of his countenance; their joint authority seems for a long time to have been duly recognised. We read of no more general acts of mutiny, till their second arrival at Kadesh, in the first month of the thirty-eighth year from their leaving it: by which time "the generation of the men of war were wasted out from among the host, as the Lord sware unto them [d]." With the plague, therefore, which succeeded the death of Korah, we may conclude the history of that generation. Those who remained of them died away, as Zelophehad is said to have done, in their own sin [e], by degrees; by an especial Providence, indeed, but not, so far as we are told, by any miraculous visitation; and there is no occasion to sup-

[c] Levit. x. 2. [d] Deut. ii. 14. [e] See Numb. xxvii. 3.

pose that they all died impenitent. The beautiful Psalm[f] composed by Moses for their use, could not surely be quite thrown away upon them, there must have been some who sympathized with it, and they must have been well prepared to die. The tone of that Psalm is indeed very peculiar: it is that of persons excommunicated in a great measure from the peculiar relation in which themselves had stood to God, yet holding fast not only by the great truths of natural and universal religion, the sovereignty and eternity of God, but also by the interest which they knew their children still retained in the promises which themselves had forfeited. This peculiarity of tone, (as it is a strong mark of authenticity, so it) renders the Psalm most comfortable and valuable to us all who live in times of decay, as relieving the melancholy picture, which the public conduct of that first generation of redeemed Israelites has hitherto exhibited, with the hope that there were still many left among them who made the right use of God's judgments.

But our present concern is with the conduct of the people collectively; and we are now arrived at a point in which it will be convenient to pause and consider what has passed, with a view to some general observations.

I. *The degeneracy of the Jews was gradual and progressive.*

It will be found that the inspired account represents the defection of these Jews as a *gradual* development of *one vicious principle*, not as a mere succession of sudden unaccountable, unconnected starts of impiety and disobedience. This gradual degeneracy is very evident, whether we consider their conduct itself, or the growing mercies of God, in spite of which they rebelled.

They began at Marah with a mere ebullition, as it might seem, of passing discontent: "What shall we drink?" In the wilderness of Sin, when their stores of provision had failed, their complaints ran in a more morose and sullen strain, they wished they had died n

[f] Psalm xc.

Egypt, and they reproached Moses and Aaron for their deliverance.

In their next difficulty, the want of water at Rephidim, their murmurings were more personal and violent against Moses, and almost endangered his life: there is also a tone of defiance and presumption in what they say, more offensive to God, as we may reasonably presume, than their former despondency had been: "The people *did chide* with Moses," (it is the word used to express the prosecution of a claim at law) "and said, Give us water that we may drink[g]." Here, first, they are charged with "tempting" the Lord, i. e. audaciously trying how far His mercy and bounty would go, as if they were such especial favourites, that they might take all liberties with God. But none of these transgressions bear comparison, either in heinousness or (probably) in duration, with that which comes next in order,—the deliberate rejection of God's appointed mediator, and substitution of an Egyptian idol, contrary to the commandment which His own voice had just before delivered to them from Heaven. The transgression at Kibroth-hattaavah, not being a public act of the congregation, would not of necessity be included in this enumeration: it seems, however, to indicate a temper in one respect still more depraved than any of the former—it was a more gratuitous sin, a more wanton temptation of God. "They required meat," not for their hunger, but "for their lust[h];" were ready to mutiny against their Maker, for the sake of a morsel of delicate meat.

The characters of men may often be more truly judged of by slight symptoms, than by their conduct in severer trials; and it certainly appears as if Moses was struck with deeper alarm at this murmuring, than he had been when their overt acts were far more outrageous. He felt himself more than ever unequal to the task of conducting such a people, and asked and obtained the communication of God's Spirit to a numerous council, that

[g] Exod. xvii. 2.

[h] Ps. lxxviii. 20, P.-B. V.

his responsibility might in some measure be divided[i]. His alarm was reasonable, as we may infer from God's giving way to it, and did not arise from excited feelings merely. He must have seen what led him to expect something worse than all which had gone before. Such, indeed, was the sedition of Kadesh Barnea—more deliberate, for there was no immediate pressing want, no unlooked-for privation, to cause it—more wild and savage, for it led them to the point of murder—more obstinate, for it went on in spite of the best reason and the clearest evidence, and could be checked by nothing short of the visible interposition of God: finally, and far worst of all, this last rebellion took the stamp of an express and wilful renunciation of their whole covenant with God, and of God Himself as their King and Guide; for nothing less than this could have been their meaning (it was not merely implied in their conduct), when they chose another leader with the intention of returning into Egypt. And it appears by the case of Korah, that those who would not be reformed by the distressing penance which followed, had gone very far towards entire practical atheism: using the words of the Almighty Himself in irony and derision, ("Thou hast not brought us into a *land that floweth with milk and honey*[k]," appealing craftily to *experience* against His promises, ("wilt Thou put out the eyes of these men?") and boldly coming out to their tent-doors, to brave His declared anger. And the very next day, when the earth had hardly closed over them, the whole assembly made themselves partakers in their guilt, by rising in anger at their destruction. This was, indeed, defying the Almighty to His face; and, taking in all circumstances, may be regarded as the most startling instance of the kind in the whole of the Jewish history.

Thus far the charge of continual degeneracy is made good, upon considering merely *what they did*: and it is yet more obvious, when we look also to the *successive demonstrations of God's mercy*, against which they sinned. In every instance, almost, His overflowing kindness was

[i] See Numb. xi. 11—17.

[k] Numb. xvi. 14.

shewn, after the immediate chastisement was over, by some addition to their comforts and privileges; some new gift to obviate the temptation to similar complaints in future. At Marah, the miraculous sweetening of the waters was made the pledge of an especial promise—the first specification of the peculiar temporal blessings which afterwards made up the Mosaic covenant. "I will put none of these diseases upon thee, which I have brought upon the Egyptians[l]." Then came the daily supply of manna; then the supernatural flow of water from the rock, not smitten once only, but springing up, to supply their wants, at each successive resting-place; so at least St. Paul appears to tell us: ("they drank of that spiritual Rock that *followed* them[m].") The tabernacle, and especially the ark of the covenant, was given them in Horeb, to be a standing memorial of God's presence after the temporary mediation of Moses should have ceased: and thus the want of a visible means of communication, which they pretended to supply by the golden calf, was effectually provided for in an authorized way. The murmuring at Kibroth-hattaavah led to the gift of quails, and a more plentiful effusion of the Spirit, or supernatural wisdom, which was before confined to Moses.

Thus all their wants, both temporal and ecclesiastical, were met by the divine bounty, and nothing remained to seek, but a good will on their part to "go in and possess the land promised to their fathers." Each successive mutiny was an act of grosser ingratitude; but their drawing back at last, in cowardly disobedience, was avowedly a rejection of all the miraculous mercies by which they were surrounded, at once. Unthankfulness could not go deeper; and we find from this moment that God deals more peremptorily with them. The standing miracles indeed, which were essential to their preservation, are continued,—the cloud still goes before them, the manna falls at night, and their clothing is miraculously kept entire: but no new favours are bestowed: they are pardoned, but no longer indulged. It is in vain to ap-

[l] Exod. xv. 26.

[m] 1 Cor. x. 4.

peal to their kindlier feelings; they must henceforth be kept in order by fear alone.

II. *Their motive was, a disobedient longing to return to Egypt, not unbelief, properly so called.*

But throughout this descending scale of impiety we may discern one prevalent feeling; not of unbelief, properly so called, but of love for the sensual life they had left, and the comparative freedom from moral restraint which they had enjoyed, in the land of Egypt. This is assigned, by unerring authority, as their leading motive in setting up the golden calf. "In their hearts" they "turned back again into Egypt, saying unto Aaron, Make us gods to go before us[n]." But the first hint of the kind had been given long before. "Would to God we had died by the hand of the Lord in the land of Egypt, when we sat by the flesh-pots, and when we did eat bread to the full[o]." Their disgust at living merely on manna, their sudden cowardice at the report of the spies, their ready acquiescence in the murmurs of Dathan and Abiram, were all but symptoms of the same froward temper; the full exhibition of which took place, when they appointed a captain to return to Egypt. This is particularly noticed as the key to the whole of their conduct, in the review taken of it in the twentieth chapter of Ezekiel: "Their heart went after their idols"—those idols, which they had refused to abandon as long as they continued in Egypt, and which their children were too happy to meet with again at their first emerging from the wilderness; *their eyes*, as it is expressed in a subsequent clause, being after *their fathers' idols*[p]. Among the Moabites and Canaanites, they saw realized the abominable forms of worship which their fathers, as long as they were detained apart from other nations, had only fancied and longed for.

This evil temper, then, and not any speculative doubt of the reality of the miracles which they saw, and of God's especial presence with them, is the "unbelief," (*ἀπιστία*[q],) with which they are charged in the Epistle to the He-

[n] Acts vii. 39, 40. [o] Exod. xvi. 3. [p] See Ezek. xx. 16, 24.
[q] Or *ἀπείθεια*. Heb. iii. 12, 18, 19; iv. 2, 6, 11.

brews; the hardheartedness and inconsideration, for which they are held up as a warning in the ninety-fifth Psalm. They knew very well that what the Almighty said was true, but they turned away their attention from it; they would not acquiesce, would not trust in it. This is the full amount of their incredulity when it went farthest.

The history does not represent them as actually disbelieving the miracles, related to have been wrought before their eyes; nothing of the sort appears in the whole narrative. Their doubt and disbelief are all represented as relating to matters out of sight,—what was become of Moses;—whether God could provide a table in the wilderness or no,—whether Canaan was so good a land as was reported, and they able to overcome the possessors of it. With such dispositions ever awake in them, it is clear they would make the most of any possibility of explaining away the miracles in the midst of which they lived: and getting rid of the irksome restraint, which they must have felt from the sense of God's immediate presence. As they found no room to do so, we conclude they must have had overpowering evidence—the evidence of all their senses. And thus their continual disposition to unbelief, (upon which Gibbon grounded his objection,) is calculated to stop the mouths of future sceptics, by a strong confirmation of the miraculous history: just as the first despondency of our Lord's disciples gave weight to their testimony regarding His Resurrection.

Thus much might be sufficient to silence unbelievers. But there still remains, in this part of the sacred story, something which may perplex and disquiet many, who never thought of questioning its veracity,—a hint for very much aweful warning and instruction; not always duly appreciated. Men of strong moral sense, but of minds and habits abstracted from the ordinary affairs of life, often, I believe, find it difficult to comprehend how any one should act in a way so decidedly opposite to his own conviction, as the Jews in this case are represented to have done. Young persons, first turning their attention to the subject, are apt to miscalculate in the

same way, from want of experience joined to their natural candour. In general, when we judge of the conduct of others, from our not feeling the passions and fancies which disturb their course, we are all of us inclined to expect more agreement than we find, between what they believe, and what they do. Therefore, to examine minutely one case of the kind, and that so important an one as we have now in hand, may be of good service in directing our judgments generally; and we must be prepared in such a survey to meet with many things that will greatly startle us. For nothing, I am persuaded, but actual observation and experience will ever teach us what a strong tendency there is in unreformed human nature, to run into ruin with its eyes open.

In answering the possible scruples of believers, we must consider,

I. The care taken in all miracles not to put men out of probation. Some persons seem to imagine that the case of miracles must form an exception to this; that they must act as irresistibly on the mind and practice of man, as the power which produces them does on the course of nature. But this is mere fancy and feeling; is beforehand very improbable, because it supposes those, with whom God interferes in that way, to be, so far, deprived of free will and exempt from probation: and is directly opposed to the testimony both of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures. In every instance there recorded, however overpowering the circumstances of a miracle may have been, how irresistible soever the conviction it wrought on the understanding, the heart and inclination were still left free to receive or reject it. There is an evident reservation, if I may so speak, of Almighty power, such as to leave those who were brought so very near to it, in the full exercise of their reasonable choice. They could not, perhaps, on some occasions, refrain from believing, but they were never forced to love and hate, to choose and refuse, as God would have them.

This is remarkably exemplified in the case of the Israelites.

This general rule of God's extraordinary Providence is

nowhere more distinctly exemplified, than in the series of miracles now under consideration. Where the interference from above was most direct and irresistible, as far as the immediate occasion went, you shall still find something left indefinite and unrevealed, some room for the exercise of faith and resignation. Thus, after the passage of the Red Sea, it was an obvious question, why they turned so widely out of the direct march to Canaan? when the waters were healed at Marah, their future supply was still left doubtful. The gift of manna, continued as it was day after day, must after a time have been felt by them, and still more by their little ones, as little more of a miracle, than the production of bread out of the earth is used to appear to us. The same may be said of the water flowing from the rock: and besides, there is reason, I think, to doubt whether the whole congregation were eye-witnesses of the miracle at Rephidim. Following the letter of the narrative, I should rather suppose that Moses went on before the congregation, accompanied by the elders of Israel only; and that the account of the water gushing forth at the touch of his rod was to be received by the rest on their authority. It is obvious, if this be correct, what room was left for the exercise of their faith and candour. When, indeed, they were close to "the mount that might be touched, and that burned with fire;" or, when they were actually in sight of God's terrible glory, consuming the profane Korah and his company; I can readily believe that it was morally impossible for them to persist in rebellion; and, so far, the exercise of their natural freedom was for a while suspended; but on that very account, probably, amongst others, those extraordinary interferences came very seldom, and lasted but a little while. And it will be found that in the transgression occasioned by the spies, the Almighty tempered and restrained His wrath, leaving them in a great measure to themselves, so as to put them most completely on their trial.

Since, then, in the whole of these transactions the free agency of man was to be kept inviolate, we ought not to be staggered and perplexed, although it may cause

us some surprise, to read of so much disobedience and practical infidelity ensuing.

The very idea of probation implies the possibility of such a thing. And I am much afraid that the more we know of ourselves and others, the more we shall be convinced of its extreme probability.

II. The conduct of the Jews answers to that of bad Christians as the type to the antitype, and therefore is a confirmation of the authority of the Bible, instead of an objection to it.

For, if I am not greatly mistaken, there is more in this case than a general correspondence with human nature. It is generally observed, that the peculiar relation towards God, in which we as Christians are placed, tallies in a remarkable way with the condition of the Jewish people in the wilderness. God's mercies to them are typical of His mercies to us; to us individually, to them in their collective and national capacity: for this is ever to be borne in mind in all comparisons between the Mosaic and evangelical covenants: that the former is primarily a contract between God and the whole nation of the Israelites, the latter between God and each particular Christian. The correspondence, I say, between these two, in respect of the nature and order of the privileges bestowed on God's part, is too striking to have escaped notice, as a distinct and irrefragable proof of the divine authority of both dispensations. But it has not, as far as I know, been distinctly noticed, that a like peculiar analogy subsists between the fortunes and result of Judaism on the one hand, and Christianity on the other. The manner in which the contemporaries of Moses are represented to have received the Law, answers to the manner in which insincere Christians receive the Gospel, as the type answers to the antitype, and helps therefore to evince the supernatural origin of the record wherein it is found[r].

[r] In this and other passages, the words Type and Antitype may seem to be used in a wider sense than that which has been affixed to them by very high authority, (Div. Leg. iii. 414); "an action signifying something future, be-

In this light, I apprehend, the conduct of the first receivers of the Law is presented to us, in a memorable passage of St. Paul, 1 Cor. x. 1—14: the scope of which passage is to warn the new converts, encircled as they were by all the dangers and temptations of idolatry, not to depend upon their Christian privileges alone, but to follow them up with all humility and diligence, considering that similar privileges had failed in preserving their ancestors in God's service, the Jewish people, when beset by similar difficulties. The warning thus generally given, is presently applied to the particular case of conformity to idol-worship, by partaking of the sacrificial feasts of the Gentiles. If this were done knowingly, as a religious act, it was an apostasy like that of the Jews; and if but a suspicion of this kind were likely to be entertained, it was better not so much as to taste of what was offered at an ordinary feast.

Such seems to be the connection of the example brought from the Mosaic times with the case of St. Paul's contemporaries; and we may observe, by the way, the peculiar manner of the great Apostle, in his availing himself of the case of conscience, in a matter comparatively unimportant, which the Corinthians had put to him, to introduce a solemn warning against apostasy, their need of which he knew much better than they did themselves. I can easily conceive that to Grecian converts, only just introduced to the Old Testament, this passage must have been invaluable, giving them a clue to the particular and per-

sides having at the time a moral import." For this implies that the action which constitutes the type was *commanded* by God; as the raising of the Brazen Serpent, and the several rites of the Jewish Law. Therefore anything done by the free-will of man without or against God's commands, could never in this sense answer to the idea of a type. Yet unquestionably such things may be so overruled by God's Providence, as to bear a designed resemblance to something future. And then they are in effect prophecies by action, and bear testimony to divine interferences, just as Caiaphas did by his involuntary prophecy in words, (see Gal. iv. 22). Whether the Old Testament does furnish examples of this sort or no, is the purpose of the present enquiry to ascertain. If such there be, perhaps the definition of a type might not unreasonably be modified so as to include them; e.g. "a type is an action with a moral import commanded, *or an event overruled*, so as to signify something future."

sonal application of the whole Jewish history to themselves, and shewing them how they might make it even more useful, than those could to whom it was originally addressed. For such I take to be the meaning of that verse in which he sums up the parallel he had been drawing: "All these things happened unto them for ensamples, and are written for our admonition, unto whom the ends of the world are come[s]." To them, they were τύποι, "patterns," of which themselves did not so fully understand the meaning as we Christians do, who live in the full light of that dispensation, of which theirs was only the shadow. The same thing is implied here of the *History*, which in the Epistle to the Hebrews is affirmed of the *Promises*, contained in the Old Testament. That "without us," the Fathers "could not be made perfect in it[t]," its drift and purpose could not be thoroughly understood, till the whole counsel of God had been made known by the messengers of Christ.

The survey of the Mosaic times which leads to this remark, is composed of two parts: one regarding the mercies of God to the Jews, the other the return made by them. The latter is what we have now most directly in view. But it will be necessary first to examine the former also, as far as it is here set before us; so far, namely, as may suffice to establish the strict analogy of the two cases.

The points of comparison between their privileges and ours, which the Apostle has here selected, are the Sacrament of Baptism, corresponding to the passage of the Red Sea; and the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, corresponding to the gift of manna for bread, and the supernatural supply of water. "Our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea; and were all baptized unto Moses, in the cloud and in the sea." The descent of the congregation of the children of Israel into the bed of the Erythræan sea, and their ascent from it on

[s] τύποι συνέβαινον ἐκείνοις· καὶ ἐγράφη εἰς νουθεσίαν ἡμῶν εἰς οὓς τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων κατήντησεν.

[t] N. B. Exemplum (inter complura) Paulinæ argumentationis in Ep. ad Heb.

the other side, corresponded to the baptismal immersion and emersion of each individual Christian. They were seals and conveyances respectively, the one of the greatest temporal deliverance that ever was, the other of eternal life; of both which water was made the outward and visible instrument. As by the one God's ancient people were fully and unreservedly redeemed from all the evils and dangers of Egypt, yet not so as to be taken at once into rest, but rather to be entered on a new scene of trial, with greater advantages indeed, but in some respects more fearful hazards; so in Christian Baptism we are justified from all past offences, and introduced to unfailing aids, but still we may forfeit all if we please, and if we do, our last state is worse than our first. The Apostle farther says, that our fathers were baptized "unto" or "into" Moses[x]; just as in another place, he speaks of each Christian as being baptized "unto" or "into[y]" Christ. It is the same form of expression in both cases, and implies the absolute necessity, in both religions, of abiding by the one appointed Mediator; enforced upon every one of us in our Baptism, by the remembrance there especially had of the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ; and upon the children of Israel in their miraculous Baptism, by the care taken to shew them that everything was done under God, by no hand but that of Moses. Moreover, the Apostle in his account of this typical Baptism, mentions the cloud as well as the sea; the cloud which was the pledge of God's immediate and peculiar presence, as well as the sea which was the material instrument of His mercy on that great occasion.

So in Christian Baptism we are born again of water as the outward instrument, but of the Holy Spirit of God as the active power: and the water-baptism needs no repetition, but the spiritual influence is renewed every moment, as the cloud continued to be the guide and solace of the Israelites throughout their wanderings in the desert: it was never taken from their sight, nor did they dare to move from their station till it led their way. This, in all

[x] εἰς Μωσῆν. [y] εἰς Χριστόν, Gal. iii. 27.

probability, is the peculiar mercy which the prophet Isaiah describes as accompanying them out of Egypt:—

"Where is He that put His Holy Spirit within him? That led them by the right hand of Moses with His glorious arm, dividing the water before them, to make Himself an everlasting Name? . . . As a beast goeth down into the valley, the Spirit of the Lord caused him to rest[z]."

Here the particular office, which in Numbers[a] is assigned to the ark of the covenant of the Lord, the movements of which were determined by those of the cloud[b]—the office of finding out a place to pitch their tents in—is appropriated to the Spirit of the Lord: that "good Spirit," which, as Nehemiah says, He gave "to instruct them[c]," although they "vexed[d]" and "resisted[e]" it for forty years together.

A due consideration of the several texts here referred to, will, I think, justify us in concluding that the pillar of the cloud which went before the Israelites, was in fact a visible token of the peculiar constant presence and agency of the Holy Ghost; and consequently, that the analogy of the passage of the Red Sea with the Sacrament of Christian Baptism, is complete in this respect also[f].

Amid so many points of correspondence, one material difference may be noticed, indicating the foundation, indeed, of the other differences between Judaism and Christianity, or Jewish and Christian covenants. The Mosaical Baptism in the Red Sea took effect upon *the whole nation* at once; the Sacrament of Christian Regeneration is separately communicated to *each individual;* the promises, therefore, and obligations, of which these were respectively the seals, must be understood with proportional corresponding differences.

Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοῦ λούτρου σύμβολον, τὰ δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα,

[z] Isa. lxiii. 11, 12, 14. [a] Numb. x. 33. [b] Deut. i. 33.
[c] Neh. ix. 20. [d] Isa. lxiii. 10. [e] Acts vii. 51.

[f] See Orig. in Johan. i. 28, lib. vi. § 26, t. iv. 144, ed. de la Rue, ii. 134, where he makes a sort of parody on the passage in question, and says it is as if St. Paul had said, speaking of Christians, *πάντες εἰς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐβαπτίσαντο ἐν τῷ πνεύματι καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ.*

τῆς ἱερᾶς τραπέζης. So St. Chrysostom teaches us to understand the Apostle in passing from the mention of the cloud and the sea, to that of the manna and the rock; and so, indeed, the place can hardly fail to be understood by a considerate and unprejudiced reader. St. Paul himself guides us to it by the express mention of Baptism in the former clause; and by his practically applying, just after, this portion of the Jewish history, to warn the Corinthians against profaning the Holy Supper, by passing from it to idolatrous feasts. Upon the strength, therefore, of this passage, even alone, we must conclude that the manna in the wilderness was intended by Almighty God to be a figure and shadow of the Body of Christ, as communicated to Christians in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper; and the water which flowed from the rock, in the same sense, was a figure of His Blood.

It may be said, indeed, that the whole parallel is only one instance of the accommodation of texts to new meanings, which many learned men imagine they find in the New Testament[g]. But whatever may be thought of this doctrine in general, it seems in this place to be effectually barred by the insertion of the word πνευματικὸν, "spiritual," three times repeated, with such marked emphasis. "They did all eat the same *spiritual* meat, and did all drink the same *spiritual* drink; for they drank of that *spiritual* Rock that followed them." The only two senses of πνευματικὸν which will apply to this place, are "supernatural," and "typical."

Now, if applied to the manna only, it might possibly be rightly interpreted "supernatural," the phrase being equivalent to the "angels' food" of the Psalmist, and the "heavenly meat" of the author of the Book of Wisdom. For not only the mode of supply, but the very substance of the manna, was in all probability supernatural. But this not being the case, as St. Chrysostom observes, with the water from the rock, the Apostle thought fit to explain why he applied the term "spiritual" to it also. And how does he explain it? Not by saying the *water*, though of like substance with the ordinary element, was miraculously

[g] See Warburton, v. 566.

supplied, and therefore might be also called spiritual, as being the immediate gift of spiritual or invisible agency; not by this, nor by anything equivalent to it, but by affirming that the *rock* itself, the visible and material rock from which it flowed, was of the same spiritual sort: "For they drank from a *spiritual* Rock that followed (or attended) them,"—was constantly found where they went. But I do not see how the *rock* could be called in any sense *supernatural: typical, mystical,* or *spiritual in its meaning* it very well might be. And in the very next clause the Apostle tells us how it was to be understood: "That Rock was Christ." Being struck by the rod of Moses, it poured out water for the wandering Israelites; just as the Body of Christ, being pierced on the Cross, poured out Blood for the spiritual supply of Christians on their journey through the world.

But if the rock and the water are called spiritual because they had this deep and mysterious meaning, then the same account must be given of the manna also. For where the two clauses so exactly answer to one another in structure, if a variation of sense had been intended, the phrase would surely have been varied. If it be enquired, why on this hypothesis an explanation was not given of the first clause as well as of the second—why the Apostle did not add to his statement about the manna, "For they eat of that spiritual bread which was rained upon them, and that bread was Christ,"—I reply that the acknowledged supernatural origin of the manna, by leading the Christian reader of himself to its spiritual meaning, rendered such an explanation unnecessary. And those who would otherwise miss of it, would be sure to find it implied when they came to consider what it said immediately after concerning the other and harder symbol. That the manna was strictly speaking typical, and not introduced in this passage by way of elegant accommodation merely, seems further to be confirmed by the manner in which our Saviour speaks of it in that famous discourse occasioned by the miracle of the loaves [h].

[h] St. John vi. 32; cf. Heb. viii. 2; ix. 24.

When the restless, unbelieving Jews had taunted Him with what Moses had done, as if He had not just before performed as great a miracle in their sight, His answer was, "Moses gave you not that bread from heaven, but My Father giveth you the true Bread from heaven,"—*τὸν ἀληθινόν*,—the word is used in a sort of technical sense, to distinguish the antitype from the type, the evangelical substance from the legal shadow; as where it is said, Christ is "a Minister of the sanctuary, and of *the true* tabernacle, which the Lord pitched and not man[i];" and where we are told of His entering not "into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of *the true*, but into heaven itself[j]."

No person would hesitate to collect from these verses, that the tabernacle was, properly speaking, a type of the Church, and the most holy place of heaven. By the same rule, the place in St. John must mean that the manna was, properly speaking, a type of our Lord's Body. By the way, whereas it has been questioned whether or no our Saviour in that discourse had particular respect to the Eucharist; I conceive that the comparison of this place with that in the First Epistle to the Corinthians is sufficient to decide the point. The evangelical privilege, called by our Saviour "the bread of God," and "the flesh of the Son of Man," was clearly the antitype of the manna: but it is no less clear, that in St. Paul's statement, the thing symbolized by the manna is the Sacrament of the Supper of the Lord. To that Sacrament, therefore, peculiarly and eminently, we must refer all those high and comfortable promises in the sixth chapter of St. John.

Having produced our warrant from Scripture for the assertion that the manna and the rock are real types of the Eucharist, we may now venture to reflect on the particulars of the resemblance with less fear of being deceived by our own fancy. The blessing communicated in both cases is obviously supernatural nourishment,—a simple and efficacious provision, in one instance, for the wants of the body; in the other, for those of the soul,—

[i] Heb. viii. 2. [j] Ibid. ix. 24.

in seasons otherwise of extreme helplessness and desolation. Both are avowedly temporary tokens and pledges of greater bounty in the same kind to be communicated hereafter, as well as helps to the attaining it. In both, the time of the supply is precisely limited to that of the need. The manna continued with the Israelites till they came to the borders of a land inhabited; the sacramental bread and cup are appointed to "shew the Lord's death till He come;" an expression, by the way, which has the force of a prophecy, implying that the Eucharistical Sacrifice shall never cease out of the Church. Each carries with it its own satisfactory and appropriate evidence: the manna and the rock to the eye of sense, the bread and wine to the considerate and confiding mind; yet not such evidence, as to leave no room for the exercise of faith. For the manna, descending as it did every morning for so long a time, was a temptation to those fickle minds to forget its miraculous nature, but that it was recalled to them weekly by the double supply the day before the Sabbath, and daily by the remarkable circumstance of each person gathering exactly an omer, and finding it just sufficient for him. The rock not being smitten in their sight, there was room for a sceptic to say it was but a series of natural springs to which Moses contrived to direct them: but they had the testimony of their elders to the contrary, and other evidence to their full satisfaction, if only it were well considered.

And so, among us, the Lord's Supper, if one regarded only its external circumstances, might pass for an ordinance of human invention; but when we look to its signification and tendency, along with its pretensions to constant continuance quite down from the Apostles' times, one perceives that its very subsisting among us as a capital rite of our religion, is enough to shew its divine origin. Both the Jewish, however, and the Christian Sacrament supply in another sense a still more direct probation of faith; so far, I mean, as the word implies trust in God, and acquiescence in His dispensations when less agreeable than we expected. The manna and the rock

were a provision against hunger and thirst, not a set of dainties to gratify a capricious appetite[1].

In like manner, the Blessed Sacrament of Christ's Body and Blood is abundant, indeed, as a source of spiritual strength; but we do not always find in it the *sensible comfort* we probably reckoned upon at first. It meets all our necessities, but does not satisfy all our imaginations. The devout communicant must occasionally struggle against dull and weary thoughts, as the faithful Israelite had to reason with himself, that he might not grow tired of living upon the same food, angels' food though it were, for forty years together.

In this also, as well as in the other Sacrament, we may observe the difference between a dispensation of national and of individual blessings. The manna and the rock preserved the *nation* of the Jews till they entered into the promised land; but the *individuals* of the first generation that partook of them perished before that time. On the other hand, the spiritual grace of the Lord's Supper is available to the salvation of every faithful soul *by itself*, but conveys no eternal promise to any Church, much less to any nation, in its collective capacity.

"But this type of the manna and the rock fails in setting forth the distinctive nature of its antitype. It is no feast on a sacrifice, as the Lord's Supper is." Cer-

[1] It may be worth while here just to notice a Rabbinical error which has crept into that beautiful and eloquent Book, the Wisdom of Solomon, on this subject. Speaking of the manna, he says: "It was able to content every man's delight, and agreeing to every taste; serving to the appetite of the eater, it tempered itself to every man's liking; it was altered into all fashions, and was obedient to thy grace that nourisheth all things, according to the desire of them that had need." (Wisdom xvi. 20, 21, 25.) All this is evidently inconsistent with their loathing the manna, and complaining their souls were dried away for want of variety in their food. But this is only one instance of a mistake which runs through the whole of that dissertation on the deliverance of the Jews. He calls them everywhere, "the righteous nation," and speaks as if they had done nothing in comparison with the Egyptians, to provoke God. It is obvious to remark how opposite this tone is to that of the Canonical Scriptures on the same subject; see especially Ezek. xx. It required, we find, more forbearance than the Israelites possessed, to be content and thankful with the same diet, unvaried for so long a time.

tainly it is not, and for that reason it is readily allowed to be a less striking symbol than many others to be found in the Pentateuch. The Paschal feast, for example, taken alone, and compared with the Lord's Supper, would furnish a strong argument for the supernatural origin of both. Not so, perhaps, the comparison we are now engaged in, if we viewed it apart from the other correspondencies, which, as we pretend, the Mosaical history and Christian dispensation exhibit. It is one among many members of a long induction, great part of which, after all, the candid and diligent reader will have to supply for himself. And in the combined effect of all these, lies the resemblance which, it is believed, cannot be accounted for, without supposing more than human wisdom in the Relator, more than human power in the Contriver of these things.

We have seen how exactly the relation in which the Jewish people stood towards God during the continuance of that series of mercies, of which the chiefest are here specified, answers to the peculiar relations into which Christians are entered by Baptism and the Lord's Supper; Baptism ensuring to them the more intimate and peculiar presence of the Holy Spirit, and the Lord's Supper keeping them in real and immediate communion with the Son of God. And now we pass to the second part of the Apostle's parallel, and begin to enquire whether the ordinary return which Christians make to these mercies, does not correspond with the conduct of the Jews in the wilderness in such a way, as to supply another point of analogy between Scripture and experience.

St. Paul clearly implies that the bad example of Moses' contemporaries was but too likely to be followed, in all its parts, by those for whom he was concerned. "With the greater part of them," says he, "God was not well-pleased, for they were overthrown in the wilderness." This "greater part" is the whole body of those who mutinied at the report of the spies, being in fact the whole congregation of Israel, except Caleb and Joshua. The allusion to that particular point in the history is

rendered certain by the turn of the phrase, *κατεστρώθησαν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ;* compare the LXX. in Numbers xiv. 16. But, he then goes on to teach us, there is more in the case than a general warning, that no privileges without obedience could exempt from final danger, or ensure the favour of God. These things,—i.e. I suppose the whole of what is told of them, their condition, privileges, conduct, and fortunes,—were *our examples*, *τύποι ἡμῶν;* their sins were the very sins into which we are most likely to fall.

He then goes on to specify these sins in their order. The first mentioned, as the root and ground of all the rest, is their "lusting after evil things," i.e. their longing to return to Egypt, and indulge themselves as before in Pagan sensuality and superstition. With this, it is observable, he charges the whole nation. It is not, as in the subsequent instances of backsliding, "some of them;" but the expression is general, "they also lusted." The most flagrant of the overt acts in which this evil temper shewed itself, are then enumerated:—

"Neither be ye idolaters, as were some of them; as it is written, The people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play. Neither let us commit fornication, as some of them committed, and fell in one day three and twenty thousand. Neither let us tempt Christ, as some of them also tempted, and were destroyed of serpents. Neither murmur ye, as some of them also murmured, and were destroyed of the Destroyer[k]."

Two of these instances belong to the history of the second generation, the children of "those who came out of Egypt by Moses," and are therefore not so immediately concerned in our present argument: but there will be occasion to speak of them by-and-by. The other two to which, as heads of classes, may be referred whatever else is told us of their disobedient and unworthy demeanour, are idolatry, of which the most outrageous case was the setting up of the golden calf; and murmuring, or unbelief, which had reached its extreme point when they rose in

[k] 1 Cor. x. 7—10.

anger at the death of Korah, and brought upon themselves that pestilence which is here called "destruction by the Destroyer." The drift, therefore, of the Apostolic warning is, 'Take notice, that for all your privileges, you are still in imminent danger. You believe indeed aright, but if your will is not subdued, if you still give way to lusts and unworthy desires, you will end either in idolatry or murmuring; either avowedly complying with the world, which allows you the liberty you want, and so turning away from the Son and Spirit of God, or else inwardly fretting at the restraint their presence imposes upon you.'

I turn now to another part of the New Testament, in which, if I mistake not, the same lesson is conveyed by a more covert, but still more impressive, reference to the same passages of the Mosaic history.

Our Saviour's temptation in the wilderness, besides whatever mysterious purposes it might answer in the œconomy of our salvation, is set before Christians as a specimen of the spiritual trials they have to contend with, and of the best way of resisting them. Now it is observable that in each of his three efforts, the Tempter was repulsed with a citation from the Book of Deuteronomy. These citations, being examined, take us back to the very history, upon which we are now engaged. The first is in answer to the challenge, "If Thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread[l];" and it is taken from the mouth of Moses, explaining what lesson God meant to inculcate, by suffering the Israelites to fall into that distress which preceded the gift of manna. "It is written, Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God[m]," —i.e. according to a well-known Hebraism, "by everything which God shall appoint." The sin, then, to which our Saviour was tempted, was that mistrust of Providence which God intended to cure in the Israelites by the gift of manna—the sin of all persons, who being especially called to the communion and service of the Almighty, go back for happiness to worldly pursuits and pleasures.

[l] St. Matt. iv. 3. [m] Ibid. 4.

The second temptation (I follow the order of St. Matthew, who inserts adverbs of time, which St. Luke does not,) was, "If Thou be the Son of God, cast Thyself down[n]." And Jesus answered, "It is written again, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God[o]." The words of Moses here quoted are, "Ye shall not tempt the Lord your God, *as ye tempted Him in Massah*[p]." Tempted him,—i.e. as before explained, tried how far His mercy would go—how much more indulgence they could, as it were, win from Him by their base and thankless complaining. Of such presumption our Lord would have been guilty, had He thrown Himself unbidden from the pinnacle of the Temple: of such His disciples are too often guilty, when upon the strength of their spiritual privileges, and sound faith, they indulge themselves in proud or ambitious dreams, and cannot endure disappointment.

Again; being invited by the Evil Spirit to do homage before him as the deputed ruler of the earth, and receive as His reward universal empire, He answers, we find, in the very same cautionary words which had been employed to keep the Jews from conformity to the idols of Canaan, and to reprove them for their inclination to those of Egypt. "It is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve[q]." It is observable, the sort of idolatry to which He was tempted was like the worship of the golden calf,—not entire apostasy from the true God, but acknowledgment of an inferior being, as His vicegerent, with divine honour. The allurement also suggested to Him, however different in degree, was the same in kind with that which, as I before observed, lay at the bottom of the Jews' defection: "Worship me, or the golden calf; worship anything but God, and Thou shalt be freer to enjoy the profits and pleasures of the world."

This analogy between the actual sins of the elder Jews, and what might be expected in the subjects of the Christian covenant, is much dwelt upon by the author of the

[n] St. Matt. iv. 6. [o] Ibid. 7. [p] Deut. vi. 16.
[q] St. Matt. iv. 10.

Epistle to the Hebrews. For after he had displayed in divinest eloquence the glories of the new dispensation, as being the work of the Son of God Himself, and not of any the most faithful of His servants, he proceeds to infer the extreme danger in which unworthy Christians place themselves, beyond what the Jews incurred. And this he does by citing and commenting on the words of the ninety-fifth Psalm, in which the conduct and fate of the first generation of the Israelites in the wilderness is held out as a warning to all who profess to worship God. In particular, he seems to recommend the emphatic words, "To-day, if ye will hear His voice, harden not your hearts, as in the provocation[r]"—these words he recommends as most apt to be used among Christians daily, as an exhortation to one another not to frustrate their own privileges by any "evil mind of mistrust," in departing either virtually or avowedly "from the living God[s]." A recommendation which the Church with admirable wisdom has followed from very early times, by appointing this Psalm to be daily used at the opening of her services of praise and thanksgiving. He encourages to perseverance by the example of Caleb and Joshua; observing that "not all provoked" God, "who came out of Egypt by Moses." He alarms the wavering with the mention of the carcases of those who sinned, mouldering in the wilderness; and of the oath of God (the lifting of His hand, as it is elsewhere called), by which they were excluded from the rest He had prepared for them: and he emphatically adds, "We see that in fact they could not enter in:" the sentence their unbelief had provoked was really executed upon them. All which he finally applies, *à fortiori*, to the case of Christian people. Let us fear, therefore, lest at any time (rather "anyhow") a promise being left that we should "enter into His rest," any of you should seem to have fallen short of it. For we, too, have received good tidings, as they did, (the good news of the promised land,) "but the word of hearing did not profit them, not being

[r] Ps. xcv. 7, 8; Heb. iii. 7, 8.

[s] καρδία πονηρὰ ἀπιστίας, ἐν τῷ ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ Θεοῦ ζῶντος.

mixed with faith in them that heard it." The remainder of the comment on the Psalm is employed upon the last clause, in shewing how both Jews and Christians were invited to the rest of the Almighty Himself.

"He," says the Apostle, "who has 'entered into His (God's) rest,' hath ceased from his own work, as God did from His." This is the Christian Sabbath, the antitype of that appointed for the Jews: "to honour God, not doing our own ways, nor finding our own pleasure, nor speaking our own words;" but rather to "delight ourselves in the Lord," acquiescing entirely in all that He orders and permits, as He acquiesced in His own works, on the last day of creation. "Into this rest" He would have us "labour to enter, lest any man fall after the same example of unbelief;" intimating, plainly enough, that as the Jews' infidelity was of the heart, arising altogether from practical discontent and self-will, and not in any degree from speculative doubts and difficulties; such also, generally speaking, would be the sharpest trial of a Christian's faith. If he could resign his *will* to *God's Providence*, to give up his *understanding* to *Christ's Gospel* would prove comparatively an easy task.

No instance of transgression by individuals, quoted from the Old Testament by way of warning in the New, is dwelt upon so earnestly, or so often referred to, as the national transgression we have now been considering: for this reason, probably; that the peculiar danger and deformity of sin in Christian people arises out of the peculiar relations in which, *as Christians*, they stand towards God, His Son, and Spirit; of which relations the Jewish history nowhere presents any image nearly so exact, as those in which the nation collectively stood towards Jehovah her King. I say, the *Jewish* history, because with the Patriarchal it is quite otherwise, it being evident that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, stood successively in the same relation to God, that the whole nation did afterwards; and accordingly their histories, especially Abraham's, furnish the standing examples of faith in the New Testament, as their degenerate race are the pattern of unbelief. And as their

unbelief lay more in want of resignation than in any speculative opposition to the truths of God, so Abraham's faith—the faith which only justifieth—included in it the submission of the heart to God's will, in such points as the final abandonment of his country, and the sacrifice of his only son ; as well as the acquiescence of the understanding in the promise of the miraculous birth of Isaac, and in God's power to raise him from the dead. By this example, therefore, as well as by the direct references to the contrary sin of the Jews, the New Testament would lead one to expect, that resignation to the will of God would be the cardinal point of *their* probation, who should have once been received into the Christian covenant.

Now, what is the answer of experience, when soberly consulted, on this point ? It is difficult indeed, not to say dangerous, to judge or speak at all largely of what is passing in the minds of others. Every one almost, in such speculations, recurs involuntarily to his own case ; imagines that his neighbours are tried in the same sort of way as himself, at the same time that he is apt to underrate the *amount* of their difficulties, compared with those which fall to his own lot. But general impressions may be stated, and supported by such remarks as the argument allows ; and it must be left to considerate persons to decide for themselves on the truth and importance of what is said.

May it not, in the first place, be truly affirmed, that the generality of Christians in all ages have been sincere believers in the truth of the Gospel, so far as they thought on such subjects at all ? Their practice, contradicting such truths, is no sufficient argument to the contrary ; as is proved by many instances in ordinary life. An undutiful son, for instance, has no doubt that such and such a person is really his parent, although by the whole course of his behaviour he virtually deny the relation. He would be more comfortable, perhaps, if he could *actually* deny it : but as that is out of the question, he is content with doing his best to forget it. A little consideration will supply abundance of similar examples in every relation of ordinary life.

It will be observed, I am not here speaking of the sufficiency of the evidence on which the belief of ordinary Christians relies; but merely of the fact that such belief is real. And this, I suppose, no infidel can well deny; because the very account which infidels usually give of the general reception of Christianity, is its being found so useful as a political engine to keep the vulgar in order, and consequently patronized by educated and deep-thinking persons against their own serious opinion. This account, at least, implies that religion is to a certain degree believed by the mass of those who profess it.

And, indeed, why should ordinary persons, who care little for the abstract welfare of the state, be at the pains to profess such a religion as Christianity, considering in how many ways it interferes with their pursuits and pleasures, and fairly makes them condemn themselves, if they are not in the bottom of their hearts tolerably well-satisfied of its truth. If it be said they lose credit by avowing themselves infidels; this, again, is giving up the point; for the majority, whose good opinion is credit, are, on this hypothesis, real believers.

Besides, all experience shews that the notion of supernatural government and interference is too essential to human comfort to be parted with long together by any large body of people. But in Christian countries, all men's notions of supernatural government and interference, pre-suppose the great truths of Christianity,—an immortal state of reward or punishment, a peculiar interest in the Son of God, enjoyed by Christians, and a peculiar watchfulness exercised over them by the omnipresent Spirit of God. To suppose the generality of Christians incredulous on these points, is to suppose human nature changed, and the principle which, abused, becomes superstition, extinct: a supposition confuted by all modern history; to say nothing of what every man may see with his own eyes.

But to leave the particular case of superstition, and consider men's conduct and feelings more generally; how very seldom is it, when one comes close to people, that

one finds them, in earnest, infidels. Ignorant, indeed, they are to a high degree, of the bearing and connection of the truths they acknowledge, and utterly without any fixed impression of their positive, or comparative importance: and no wonder, when they suffer their minds to be taken up, day after day and year after year, with matters of quite another sort.

But all this is very different from positive rejection, or even doubt of the Gospel. And so it clearly appears, not only in moments of distress and desolation,—

> "Nam veræ voces tum demum pectore ab imo
> Ejiciuntur, et eripitur persona, manet res;"

but likewise in the ordinary course of life men betray by a thousand minute but not the less sure indications, that they are convinced there is something in religion, and would be glad to feel themselves as safe as those whom they believe to be truly pious. Where no worldly interest is concerned, they would yet be affronted to hear themselves called unbelievers. And they commonly shew a degree of respect for the character of a sincere Christian, over and above what his usefulness in society would claim from them, and quite inconsistent with their supposing him a weak, blinded, fanatical being; which yet must be their judgment regarding him, if they were got so far as to disbelieve Christianity themselves.

Upon the whole, the conduct of the majority of Christians is in no way reconcileable with the notion of their being infidels at heart; but I think we shall find it amply accounted for, if we suppose them, as the Jews were, unwilling believers. For what is that wild forgetfulness of God, and impatience of every restraint on their pleasure, in which too many young persons lose themselves, when their first hours of consideration are past; what is this but a different form of the same temper, which set the Israelites upon making the calf in Horeb, when they had so lately been eye-witnesses of the terrors of the Law? Their reason is convinced, but in their fancy and affections they still turn back to the world; they dare

not altogether renounce the Gospel, but they endeavour to carry along with them as much of heathenish enjoyment as they can; mingling with the very service, which they still think fit to pay to God, some selfish passion or pursuit, till the whole course of their conduct becomes, in the New Testament sense, idolatry. Nor does it make any material difference with regard to the accuracy of this description, whether we suppose people losing themselves thus entirely in romantic retirement, or as the greater number do, in fashionable, i.e. vulgar dissipation: any more than the guilt of pagan idolatry was affected by the question, Whether men worshipped an elegant and refined phantom, like the Grecian Apollo, or a coarse and bloody idol, as the Phœnician Moloch. The sin against God is the same, though the effect upon other parts of the conduct and character may be very different. Neither is this sort of error to be passed lightly over, as though it was simply the high spirits and quick fancy of youth; as is evident by the multitude of persons, who continue the same round of pleasures long after they have forgotten its first attractions; the pity and wonder of everybody except themselves.

Or what shall we say of that other and hardly less numerous class, who, being elder in age or judgment, cannot satisfy themselves at all without occasional, perhaps periodical, thoughts of religion, yet have not overcome their worldly tempers so far, but that they continue fretful and discontented to the end, either for some temporal loss or disappointment, or because they do not find in their devotional exercises that glow of sensible comfort, which they had unreasonably promised themselves at first setting out? What can be said of such persons more appropriate, than that they are exact representatives of the wayward Israelites? who being fed and guided by miracle, went murmuring on to the very edge of the promised land, and lost it at last, because they would not acquiesce in God's way of putting them in possession of it?

To exhibit more clearly both the aptness of the parallel,

and the force of the argument to be grounded on it, let us take a particular instance.

Of all the ordinances of the Christian religion, none is generally believed to have in it so much of the peculiar and immediate presence of God, as the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. One may judge, therefore, with tolerable accuracy, how people would have behaved in the situation of the companions of Moses, by watching their behaviour and feelings with regard to that Sacrament. I would put it to every one's conscience and observation, whether what we are continually witnessing in this kind be not the very counterpart of what we read in the books of Exodus and Numbers.

For the great neglect of that divine Supper, which the Christian world so justly complains of, is so far from being a sign of unbelief in the strict sense of the word, that it is, in no few instances, a real indication of faith surviving in persons, in whom, from many parts of their conduct, one might have supposed it utterly extinct.

We often see men, whose ordinary life shews little or no sense of the difference between holy and unholy, going to church, listening to the lessons and to the sermon, and joining in the prayers without fear or scruple; but stopping short and starting back, as it were, when the Communion Service begins. Now, if they were mere infidels, putting on the show of religion for worldly purposes, there is no reason why they should not stay and go through with their part; but their secret motive being an indistinct wish to soothe and beguile not the world around them, but their own consciences, this is most effectually answered by going as far as they dare in the outward service of their Maker, along with those persons whom they look up to as examples of piety. But they draw back from the Communion Service, because they esteem it a nearer approach to God than any other part of external religion, nearer than they like to venture upon: shewing in this part of their conduct the same real sense of His Presence, which Adam owned by hiding himself among the trees of Paradise, and the children of Israel, by fol-

lowing the guidance of the cloud, while in their hearts they turned back into Egypt. They acknowledge the blessing, but have no taste for it; and if, in this frame of mind, convenience, decency, or, as sometimes happens, mere curiosity or caprice, should have prevailed on them to become communicants, or if, having first become so from better motives, they should fall back into the temper now described, they are sure to find the same fault which the Israelites did with the manna; their soul will seem dried up,—they will complain of this as being no better than other devotional exercises,—a dull, wearisome, unvaried task. And now they are ripe for listening to any evil reports of the pleasant land, which seducers may spread among them; anything sly and spiteful, which men of Korah's stamp may utter against their former guides and opinions. With the same evidence that they always had of God's immediate Presence among them, they become gradually careless and hardened against it, and fall away from Christian obedience, if not from external religion, as entirely as those who rebelled against Moses and Aaron within a few hours after they had seen what God did to Korah and his company.

Some persons, perhaps, may look on this as an extreme case, of rare occurrence, and therefore unfit to be applied as a standard of the prevailing temper of the Christian world. Who does not wish that it might be proved rare? But if this were made out never so completely, still the substance of the present argument would continue unimpaired. For that argument does not rest upon the *degree*, so much as on the *kind*, of transgressions, usually observable among Christians, in regard of their peculiar relation to God. Whether those transgressions be many or few—breaking out in direct acts, or subsisting only as evil tendencies in the heart—every reader of the Bible may be a competent observer, whether what he discerns of them agrees, in the way here stated, with what he reads there of the faults of the Jewish nation. If he be satisfied of that agreement, he has one reason more for receiving the Bible, in both its parts, as the work of prophetic wisdom,

and therefore of divine inspiration; the Old Testament, for its exact delineation of their backslidings; the New, for holding them up as the most appropriate warning to us.

To put this more distinctly before the mind, let the following propositions be considered, each with its proper evidence.

1. To represent resignation to God as the main point in the moral character and probation of man, is characteristic of the *Holy Scriptures;* and originally, of the Holy Scriptures *only*.

2. To represent this same temper as constituting the good or ill desert of *a nation, as such*, is characteristic of the *Old Testament*.

3. To adapt the one of these representations to the other, so that the conduct and fortunes of an ancient nation should be typical of the conduct and fortunes of individuals now, was too intricate an idea to have been devised, or however tried with any success, by mere human skill; implying both a peculiar Providence over the nation, and a distinct fore-knowledge regarding the individuals.

4. In the case before us, the result predicted is to a high degree *unfavourable;* contrary to what an imposter would have framed, or an enthusiast anticipated.

Lastly, the characteristics on which we are arguing are not found in one or two writers merely, but occur in the most undesigned manner throughout the literature (otherwise various) of a whole nation for 1,000 years.

Proposition I.

Paley has observed, in general, "That the whole volume of the New Testament is replete with *Piety;* with (what were almost unknown to heathen moralists) *devotional virtues*." Our business at present is to extend this observation to the Old Testament, and to dwell more particularly on that part of it which relates to resignation and conformity to God's will, at the sacrifice of our own.

To represent this as the cardinal point of human virtue was, we say, original and characteristic in the morality of Holy Scripture. This we shall see reason to allow, whether we consider the various ways of estimating moral character which actually do prevail in the world; or whether we look to the remains of ancient literature, and attend to the tone which pervades the moralists of Greece and Rome, in speaking on this subject.

a. First, it is notorious that ordinary observers form their judgment of their neighbours' character from that part chiefly of their sentiments and behaviour which affects other men. They naturally enquire, not what we are in ourselves, but whether we are useful and agreeable to those around us. This is obviously the case with those who are carried away by their own pleasure or interest; with those also who limit their views, however benevolent, to the good of society as such. But it is not always observed that there is a strong tendency of the like kind, in those even who know much better, and wish to be reasonable in their likings and dislikes. It is a real, and often a most uneasy, part of that discipline, which they are forced to exercise over themselves, to train their affections to a preference of those qualities which they know God prefers,—humility, resignation, quietness of heart. I am not now speaking of our natural judgment concerning the *social* qualities of others, and comparing it with the judgment of others; that is a comparison which has been long since made, and is familiar to every one: but even when the excellency of the devout character in general is acknowledged, the love of excitement still misleads us, and we shall too often catch ourselves, in particular instances, wasting all our attention and admiration, (it is well if our affection be not also misplaced,) upon such generosity, sprightliness, or energy, as may very well exist without any sound or settled principle of action. The best character, according to the Scriptural standard, is by no means, I apprehend, the most generally interesting, even to good sort of persons. There is a stage of imperfect virtue, a mixture of right impulses and intentions, with

more or less of error in feeling and conduct, which is at first sight more engaging, not only in fictitious stories, but in real life, than anything much more faultless would be. Neither, perhaps, is this to be altogether blamed; for it is, in part, strictly natural. We have a peculiar interest for people in danger, which we cannot possibly transfer to those who seem to be, either from circumstances or character, in comparative security; who, as we fancy, want nothing done for them, or can do well enough for themselves. And the final cause of this is obvious; it is but directing our sympathy and help towards those, first, who need it most, and are likely to find it most available.

Men are not therefore always to be censured, or to vex themselves, because they feel a more intense and affectionate concern for some blemished and unsettled character, than for others whom they believe to be really much higher in moral worth; but then they are to guard most carefully against a double abuse, to which this natural feeling is liable; on the one hand, their regard for the faulty persons must not betray them into any toleration, much less any liking, for the fault; on the other hand, it is surely excessive, when accompanied with distaste or impatience towards real goodness, in any kind or shape, however homely, dull, and unattractive.

To say nothing of more weighty occasions—whoever watches the tone of conversation, and of that literature which comes nearest to conversation, will soon be aware what need there is for some such cautions as these, even among persons who sincerely mean to do good; how much our moral taste insensibly suffers, by the careless way in which liking and dislike are continually expressed, according as the persons spoken of are *interesting* or no.

Such an observer, too, will readily perceive (which is the purpose of introducing the subject here) how unlikely, above most others, is the temper of resignation to God's will, and reference to Him in all things, to be selected as the standard of human worth by a mere human moralist; at least, so far as he might be guided by the natural sentiments of mankind.

β. Let us next consider, whether or no this impression will be strengthened upon reviewing the remains of ancient literature, and considering the tone which pervades them whenever they touch on this subject of resignation.

It is evident indeed, that such a virtue was wholly excluded, both by the popular theology of the Greeks and Romans, which represented the Universe as directed by "gods partial, changeful, passionate, unjust;" and also by the melancholy dream of a stern and blind destiny, overruling all things, which possessed many minds of the higher order among them. So far as God's moral government of the world is acknowledged, so far, and no farther, is room allowed for the exercise of natural piety, for cheerful submission and acquiescence in the established order of things.

It is not meant there can be no such thing as patience and contentment, practically, without this true sense of the divine presence and power. There is in every one, as has been truly observed[t], a disposition to put up with what cannot be helped, which is the natural ground of religious resignation; and there are considerations of present comfort and immediate utility to ourselves and others, quite sufficient to call out and confirm this disposition in thoughtful people, supposing them practically ignorant of the great truths even of natural religion. But such patience and contentment are no part of piety; nor are the instructions of that kind, which occur in ancient poets and moralists, at all parallel to the lessons of Holy Writ. Those only among them (if such there be) deserve consideration in this view, who ground their institutes or their sentiments upon an acknowledgment, virtual or express, of the practical probability of this great truth, That all things are in the hand of a wise and good Providence.

Nor would this acknowledgment even carry them so far as the Scripture doctrine of the love of God, unless they had also got rid of a certain haughty and exclusive way of thinking, strongly marked in most of their writings:

[t] Butler, i. pp. 245, 6.

the notion, I mean, of a broad line of separation drawn by nature between two classes of mankind, whereby the virtue and happiness of the one was rendered of an infinitely higher order than the virtue and happiness of the other; the teacher himself, and his worthy disciples, being, to be sure, included in the sublimer and more favoured class. The simple love of God, and trust in Him, would seem too cheap and ordinary a virtue, too much within everybody's reach, to be made the standard of moral excellence by any one who was possessed with this overweening fancy.

However, the true doctrine of Providence is apparently acknowledged, and that, too, with a practical heartiness and energy which might shame many a Christian, in several portions of the ancient Greek poetry: I would specify, in particular, the Eumenides and the Supplices of Æschylus, which convey the lesson of resignation to the divine will and trust in the divine purpose, not by single passages only, but by the general conception and tenor of the whole drama in each instance. And by Socrates not only was the doctrine acknowledged, but the duty flowing from it was clearly seen and inculcated; and what is more, conscientiously acted upon, at least in the closing scene of his life; which may, without impropriety or exaggeration, be called a martyrdom in behalf of true, natural religion. And thus much was allowed by the writer, who of all others was least disposed to magnify any appearance of real religion in Pagans; I mean Bishop Warburton, who exempts Socrates alone from his sweeping charge of insincerity, with regard to the doctrine of a future state, pronounced against heathen moralists in general[u].

The case, then, of Socrates being taken as the nearest approach to Christian or Jewish resignation, anywhere to be found among heathens, it is striking to observe how completely it fails in respect of *enforcement* and *authority*. This, indeed, the philosopher was conscious of, and ex-

[u] Div. Leg. ii. 32.

pressed his hope, in consequence, of some divine interposition to supply what was wanting [x].

Suppose, now, an authoritative publication of that doctrine, which to Socrates appeared only just probable enough to act upon—the moral government of God. It would, of course, be accompanied with an authoritative recommendation of that virtue, which, although he steadily practised, he could venture to inculcate on others but faintly—conformity and resignation to the divine will—as the true standard of moral goodness.

Now the Jewish Scriptures, besides their peculiar uses in their own dispensation, exactly answer this description. They speak of Providence, universal, overruling Providence, as of a thing most unquestionably certain; and they inculcate resignation as the confessed and paramount duty of mankind. Here, then, is the question before us: Is it conceivable that Moses, or any other intelligent person, having no more evidence than Socrates had—no more, we will say, than the best evidence which reason could work out—would have dared to speak on those awful subjects with so much more authority than Socrates? The alternative, I apprehend, is unavoidable. If he were philosopher enough to have reasoned out the doctrine of Providence, and so inferred the duty of resignation, he would not have put it in so dogmatical a form. If he took the doctrine from old tradition, and used it to be the ground-work of a system of imposture, he would not have laid the practical stress of it upon resignation to the will of God. For the general temper of true devotion, the love of God, which is the prominent point of the Mosaical religion, is perfectly distinct from that zeal for the propagation of their own peculiar tenets, which pretenders to revelation, whether political or fanatical, or of a mixed class between both, have ordinarily set up as the test of human goodness and divine approbation.

To this may be added, that Holy Scripture professes to teach this great virtue, and the character formed on

[x] See the end of the first Alcibiades.

it, not only by precept, but by example also. It claims in various parts, in the Prophets and Psalms more especially, to express the very feelings and struggles of the devout soul; her misgivings and perplexities, doubts and sorrows; and her final acquiescence, with more or less of glowing thankfulness, in God's appointments, however distressing, and in His purposes, however inscrutable. The Bible represents, also, the various acts of self-deceit, the hypocritical excuses and evasions, and all the peculiar machinery set in motion by the corrupted will to break the force of acknowledged truth. To do this exactly implies a knowledge of the secrets of the heart, I think one may venture to say, not less than supernatural. And the very attempt was so new and original, so very unlike any known effort of human reason on similar subjects, that before all enquiry into its success, it might fairly entitle the volume which contained it to a certain religious veneration and awe.

Upon the whole; if we imagine a person well versed in classical literature, and in the moral schemes of antiquity,—and many such, no doubt, might be found among the early Grecian converts,—sitting down for the first time to the study of the Old and New Testament, one of the peculiarities which would strike him most forcibly, would be the authoritative promulgation of a new test of right and wrong, Conformity to the will of God; and the enforcement, consequently, of a new order of sentiments,—all those which we comprehend under the term Resignation to the divine will, as the very guides and comforts of life. And if he were a person of thought and candour, he could not fail to perceive, that apart from the historical facts related, this originality in the morals of the Bible not only gave it a strong claim on his respect and attention, but formed also, as far as it went, a real presumption of its coming from God.

Proposition II.

The doctrine of Resignation and Conformity to the will of God is *apparent at first sight*, in what may be called

the *private* and *personal* narratives of the Old Testament—in the characters there delineated, and events related, concerning various *individuals*, both before and during the Jewish Dispensation. But it is also apparent, that these *individual* anecdotes are but collateral to the main purpose of the Old Testament; which so far agrees with other civil histories, as to form altogether the record of the fortunes *of a nation;* differing in this materially from the New, which bears rather the form of biographical composition. And we have seen that the early part of the history of that nation, besides its more immediate and direct uses, is also an enforcement, throughout, of this same duty,—devotion and resignation to God.

Now, it is plainly one thing to sketch out the *portrait of an individual*, or an *idea of virtue in the abstract*, with reference throughout to a particular quality, such as this of resignation; and another thing to conceive and record *the history of a nation for a long series of years*, so as to convey the same lesson. If the first be an original characteristic circumstance in the Scriptures, the second appears still more so. It is something as new and unexpected in the manner of teaching, as the other was in the substance of what is taught.

For, first of all, there is nothing that I know of, in the whole range of history, ancient and modern, at all comparable to this. Detached passages, indeed, occur, in which the tone and manner of the writer may seem to shew, that while he was writing on civil and public matters, his thoughts were in some measure taken up with something analogous in private and domestic life, or in the discipline of each man over himself. E.g., it is hardly possible to read some of the speeches in Thucydides, without perceiving that he has used language, whether voluntarily or unconsciously it matters not, which is equally applicable to the daily conduct of the generality of mankind. The restless activity of the Athenians in a bad cause is contrasted with the sincere but sluggish policy of Lacedæmon, in terms which might serve a Christian preacher, putting the children of light

to shame by the example of the children of this world: and if a man wished to find out just and emphatic words for an admonition to many hearers of Christian sermons, they are ready to his hand in the expostulation addressed by Cleon to the Athenians[y]: *οἵτινες εἰώθατε θεαταὶ μὲν τῶν λόγων γίγνεσθαι, ἀκροαταὶ δὲ τῶν ἔργων.* And it may occur, perhaps, that the uniform tenour of the Roman history, apart from the language or views of any particular historian, suggests, directly and necessarily, a lesson of a moral kind—a lesson of determined perseverance and consistency in conduct—to each individual among us, no less than to each nation in its corporate capacity. But instances like those I have selected from Thucydides, are no parallel to the case of the Scripture: there is no thread of a double meaning which runs through the whole narrative; we have only a few insulated passages, admitting, as must often be the case where complex moral ideas are introduced, of other significations than the writer himself could dream of. And as to the Romans, the lesson taught in their history is too trite and general to bear a comparison with so definite and peculiar a sentiment as that of resignation to God, as our own God; the one sentiment with respect to which the whole character of the Jewish nation is delineated, and upon which, or the want of it, everything recorded in their annals is seen immediately to depend. These annals represent, not something analogous, but *the very same habit of mind*, which is the duty and support of separate individuals, as constituting also the duty and happiness of a nation; an impression, be it observed, which the Jewish historical Scriptures produce, not only as a general result from the whole taken together, but commonly also by designed and express reference on each particular occasion, whether of good or ill fortune.

Now, whatever instruction of this kind a considerate person may glean from the ancient historians, it is out of the question their intending such a reference them-

[y] Thucydides, iii. 38.

selves; if it were only for this reason, that moral good—the improvement of the individual—was inferior and subordinate, in their estimate, to political good, the welfare of the State. This idea is very strongly brought out in the writings of Aristotle, running through the whole of his Ethics and Politics, and forming indeed the connecting link between the two treatises. Wherever it prevailed, it evidently would preclude the way of teaching morality which is adopted in the Jewish Scriptures, through the medium of political history. This would of course appear as preposterous to a Grecian or Roman patriot, as if one were to suggest to a sincere believer, that the Bible, after all, may perhaps be chiefly intended as a vehicle of civil and political instruction.

[Here the MS. breaks off. It is written in the Author's Common-place Book, and would doubtless have been somewhat altered in form had he been able himself to prepare it for publication; as in many parts, especially the first few pages, it is evidently rather a sketch of what he intended at some future time to say at large than a finished essay.—ED.]

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ERRATA.

p. 461, note [q], *for* παροξυνάντες με, *read* παροξύναντές με.

p. 462, „ [u], *for* κατερομβεύσεν αὔτους, *read* κατερόμβευσεν αὐτοὺς.

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